

GREEK PAPYRI

IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

CATALOGUE, WITH TEXTS

VOL. I

EDITED BY


F. G. KENYON, M.A.



CISALPINO - GOLIARDICA

MILANO

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Milano 1973

*Ristampa Anastatica
autorizzata dal British Museum di Londra*



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EDITED BY

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CHINESE JARVIS

BRITISH MUSEUM

CHINESE JARVIS

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CHINESE JARVIS

CHINESE JARVIS

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PREFACE.

THE present volume contains a catalogue of all the Greek Papyri acquired by the British Museum up to the end of the year 1890, with complete texts of all those that are not of a literary character, except a few inconsiderable fragments. The literary texts have all been already published or fully described and collated elsewhere, as is shown in the following Table; and this volume consequently completes the publication of the texts of the Greek Papyri in the Museum up to the date indicated. Pending the future publication of other volumes on a similar plan, short descriptions of the more recently acquired Papyri will be found in the sexennial printed Catalogues of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, of which the next, now at the press, will include the years 1888-1893.

The preparation of the present volume was undertaken in the year 1889, and it was actually sent to the printers at the close of that year. The revision of the press had, however, to be suspended for a time, after several sheets had been struck off, in order to attend to other work of a more urgent nature; and it is only within the last year that it has been possible to resume active progress. The delay has made it possible to include several additional papyri of considerable interest, but it may to some extent have interfered with uniformity of treatment throughout the volume. The preparation and printing of the Indices have caused the appearance of the volume to be further delayed for some months since the body of the work was completed.

Facsimiles of all the papyri of which the texts are here given will be found in an accompanying volume of plates. The total number of plates is one hundred and fifty, and they cover a period from the third century B.C. to the eighth of the Christian era.

The Catalogue is the work of Mr. F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Assistant in the Department, under the supervision of Mr. G. F. Warner, M.A., Assistant Keeper of MSS.

EDWARD SCOTT,
Keeper of MSS.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
February 18, 1893.

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INTRODUCTION.

A SHORT description of the plan and arrangement of the following Catalogue seems to be advisable. In the year 1839 a volume was published by the Trustees of the British Museum, entitled *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, under the editorship of the Rev. Josiah Forshall. This volume contained the texts of forty-four papyri, most of which relate to a single subject. No explanation of their contents was given, however, nor were they arranged in chronological order; and the numbers assigned to them were not those by which they are recorded in the reference catalogues of the Museum. Under these circumstances it has seemed best to begin again *ab initio*, and to include in this volume the texts published by Forshall as well as those which have been acquired since that date.

Two orders of arrangement were possible, either that of the numbers by which the MSS. are officially known, or according to the subjects with which they deal. Both of these orders have been adopted, the first (which is essential for purposes of reference) in the Table which follows this Introduction, the second in the texts which compose the main part of the volume. The texts would be unintelligible if read merely in numerical sequence, and they have consequently been grouped together by subjects, chronological order being generally followed within each group, except where it interfered with the arrangement according to subject. References are given in the Table to the page at which the text of each document will be found.

The arrangement of the numerical Table for the most part explains itself. Up to the year 1863, Coptic Papyri were included with Greek, and numbered continuously with them; and in two cases Latin papyri also appear in the list. The numbers thus occupied by Coptic and Latin MSS. are noted in the Table, so as to explain what might otherwise appear to be unaccountable omissions. The numbers given to the earlier acquisitions in Forshall's volume are also stated, for convenience of reference. The papyri containing literary texts are mentioned in their proper place in the numerical order, and references are given to the official publications in which transcripts or collations of their texts have appeared. Non-official publications of the texts contained in the present volume are not mentioned in the Table, but full references are made to them in the introductions to the several texts.

The second and largest part of the volume, containing the texts of the non-literary papyri, falls into line with such publications as vol. xviii. of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres Bibliothèques*, edited by Letronne and Brunet de Presle (1865), the *Papyri Graeci Musei Lugduni-Batavi*, edited by C. Leemans (1843 and 1885), or the *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, which is

now appearing by instalments. The texts are printed *literatim*, without stops or accents, but with separation of words, and with capital initials for proper names.* Where supplements are attempted, they are printed within square brackets. It is not to be supposed that any human transcript can be entirely free from errors; but the palpable blunders in spelling and grammar with which the papyri abound may be credited in the first instance to the original scribes. It has not been thought worth while to disfigure the pages by appending the warning *sic* to each such violation of conventional rules, especially since the accompanying volume of facsimiles provides a ready means of checking the transcripts which are here given. The notes and introductions, unnecessary no doubt in many instances for those who are familiar with the papyrus-literature, may be of some use to those who are entering on the study of it, or whose concern is rather with the contents than with the form of the documents; while in any case they may save time by providing a rapid guide to the contents. It is hoped that the Indices at the end will add materially to the usefulness of the volume. They include (1) an index of subjects, (2) an index of proper names, (3) an index of places, (4) an index of officials and titles, (5) a chronological table of months, (6) an index of symbols and abbreviations, (7) an index of words (mostly non-Greek) used in incantations, and finally (8) a general index of words, on a full, but not absolutely exhaustive, scale.

The division of subjects is as follows. The first section contains the group of papyri relating to the Serapeum at Memphis, which are both among the first in order of acquisition by the Museum and also among the earliest in actual chronological sequence. They range in date from B.C. 172 to B.C. 157, but by far the larger part of them deal with the history of a single transaction covering the years B.C. 163-161, and these are consequently placed first, although one other document (Pap. XLII.) is in fact a few years earlier in date. In the second section are given some miscellaneous documents of the Ptolemaic period, a few of them older than the Serapeum documents, but for the most part slightly later, though none of them can be placed lower than the end of the second century B.C. The third section is very different, both in age and in contents. The papyri here brought together include collections of magical formulæ and incantations, and they appear to range in date from the second to the fifth century of our era; though, as the hands in which they are written are mostly of the literary rather than of the private type, it is not possible to be very positive in assigning their dates. Their contents form a curious chapter in the history of folk-lore. Similar to these, both in character and in interest, are the three horoscopes which form the fourth section.

The fifth section, headed "Accounts," includes records of monetary transactions of all sorts, public and private; and in these, more than elsewhere in the volume, is the material to be sought for the internal history of Egypt as a Roman province. Among the public accounts is to be found a large portion of a tax-register of the second century (Pap. CXIX.); among the private documents the farm-bailiff's pay-book of the years 78-79 A.D., on the back of which is written the unique MS. of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (Pap. CXXXI.). Nearly the whole of this material is now published for the first time; but it

* Letters and words which have been added above the line in the originals are in many cases printed between insertion-marks, ' ' ; e.g. p. 25, top line, 'θυρίς'.

requires to be combined with other documents of a similar character, unpublished or in other libraries, before full use can be made of it.

In the sixth section something of a cross-division is apparent, since here are gathered together, regardless of subject, the documents which came to the Museum from the first great discovery of papyri in the Fayûm. Many of these might, from the nature of their contents, have fallen naturally into the previous section; but the division is not so arbitrary as at first sight appears. The Fayûm papyri belong to a different epoch in Egyptian history, when Egypt was under the influence of Constantinople, instead of Rome.* Both historically and palæographically there is a great gulf between this group of documents and the earlier ones which similarly treat of the internal economy of the country. They might equally be described as "Papyri of the Byzantine period," which would show them in their proper place with respect to the Ptolemaic documents of the first and second sections, and the Roman documents of the fifth; those of the third and fourth being entirely heterogeneous in character. A few miscellaneous papyri form the seventh section and conclude the volume.

The value of non-literary papyri is twofold, historical and palæographical. The nature of the historical interest can be partly gathered from the summary of contents which has just been given; partly it relates to the history of the Greek language, since the papyri contain useful evidence with regard to orthography and pronunciation, and also make some additions to its vocabulary. In both departments, of philology and of history proper, the value of the papyri consists, not so much in the revelation of new facts of first-rate importance, as in the accumulation of small details, in themselves not striking, but collectively forming a foundation on which the constructive historian may base his inferences. It is in the interests of such work that the publication of the papyri in all the great European collections is especially called for. At the present moment the British Museum collection alone is completely published up to so late a date as the acquisitions of 1890; but the Paris papyri, subsequent to the volume issued by M. Brunet de Presle in 1865, may mostly be found in various articles by Dr. Karl Wessely, and the publication of the Berlin collection has just commenced, unfortunately too late to be of service in preparing the present volume, and without the accompaniment of facsimiles. The great want now is the promised *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, containing the texts of the large collection of papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer in Vienna; but this is a work requiring much time, and when it does come its chief value will apparently be for the later, rather than the earlier, history of the province of Egypt. In a catalogue of only one of these collections, such as the present, it is not possible to examine fully all the questions which are raised by the documents contained in it, nor has this been attempted; but a sketch is given of the contents of each MS., and some of the economical data, for which papyri are often especially valuable, are referred to in the introductions and notes.

The palæographical value of this collection is fully exhibited in the volume of facsimiles which accompanies the texts. It is not too much to say that the discoveries of papyri

* This statement of course does not apply to all papyri found in the Fayûm (or sold as having been found there); but the documents found there at first, among which were the

British Museum papyri here under consideration, seem all to have been of this comparatively late date.

during the last thirty years have made it necessary to re-write and greatly expand the earliest chapters in the history of Greek writing, and have made part of even the best manuals of palæography quite out of date.* Even since the publication of Gardthausen's *Griechische Paläographie* (1879) the materials have increased very largely. In place of a few isolated specimens, which then alone represented the development of writing from B.C. 162 (Gardthausen's earliest MS.) to the commencement of the series of great uncial codices in the fourth century, there is now extant (though still partly unpublished) an almost unbroken series of dated documents, in which every century but one is fairly represented from the third before Christ to the eighth of our era, when papyrus went out of use for Greek writings and the history of palæography is finally transferred to documents inscribed on vellum.

The palæography of papyri forms a department by itself in the history of Greek writing, and it is only very rarely that it comes at all near to the palæography of vellum MSS. Indeed the finding of such a link, which may enable us to check more certainly the dates conventionally assigned to the early vellum uncials, is one of the *desiderata* which it is hoped that further exploration in Egypt may supply. The old division into uncials and minuscules is of little use in relation to papyri. Characters of both classes are found in the same MS., and both are adapted to cursive usage with almost equal ease and freedom. The only broad distinction that can be drawn is between literary and non-literary or private hands. The writing employed for formal copies of literary works has a development of its own, which is only remotely connected with that of the writing in common use among private individuals; and as such MSS. are rarely, if ever, dated, it is at present very difficult to assign dates to them with any approach to precision. At the same time, the dating of private hands, which can generally be made with fair accuracy, often has an important bearing on the MSS. of literary works; for copies of such works made by an individual for his private use are naturally in the ordinary hand of the period, and notes in private hands are not unfrequently found in the margins of formally-written literary MSS., and thereby give a clue to the dates of the latter. The documents in the present volume are, as might be expected, nearly all in private or non-literary hands, the only exceptions being some of the horoscopes and treatises on magic, the writing of which approaches nearer to the formal literary cast. The facsimiles are, consequently, for the most part a contribution to the history of the ordinary writing of Greek in the period over which they range.

The history of Greek writing has been carried back nearly a hundred years by Mr. Flinders Petrie's discovery of a large number of papyrus documents in the cartonnages of certain mummy-cases of the Ptolemaic age. Many of these bear dates in the third century before Christ, the earliest being in B.C. 268, and all are of the same general type of writing and can therefore be confidently assigned to the same century. With this century, therefore, Greek palæography now begins; for the single document which perhaps goes back to an even earlier period (the curse of Artemisia, see *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 141) belongs rather to the lapidary style of forming letters. Greek writing in Egypt (and it must be

* Since this Introduction was in type, Mr. Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography* has appeared, in which two chapters, with a large table of alphabets, are

devoted to Greek writing in papyri, thus supplying the want here indicated.

remembered that it is in Egypt alone that we know its early history) falls into three distinctly marked periods—the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine—corresponding with the three great changes in the administration of the country after its loss of independence. The normal rule in palæography is that each style of writing is seen at its best at its commencement, and that it then degenerates until a fresh impulse starts a new development on other lines. The Ptolemaic period, so far as we know it at present, is an exception to this rule. The letters in the third century B.C. are less well formed, and the writing is less clear and regular than it is in the century which follows. The best specimens of third-century writing must be looked for in Prof. Mahaffy's edition of the Petrie Papyri*; but three documents of this date are in the British Museum collection, viz. Papyri L., LIA., and CVI.,† besides one at Paris, one at Leyden, one at Berlin, and one at Athens, and some dockets on demotic papyri in the British Museum and the Louvre.‡ The most marked individual peculiarities of the writing of this period are the wedge-shaped *a* (e.g. in βασιλει, Pap. LIA., l. 1), the *m* with a very shallow depression in the middle, the *n* with a horizontal cross-stroke and the final upright stroke rising above the line, sometimes even sloping backwards, the semicircular *n*, the *τ* lacking the right-hand extension of the cross-stroke, the large *γ*-shaped *v*, the left-hand oblique stroke of which is generally carried further than the right-hand one, and *ω* with the second loop represented by an almost or quite straight line. It will of course be understood that not all these characteristics are always present, and in the more carefully and formally written documents they are least apparent. The ink is generally very black, and the strokes are uniformly thick and rather rough, with very little admixture of fine strokes. A marked feature of the general appearance of documents of this period is the preservation of a straight line along the *top* of the writing. The final stroke of *n* and the upright stroke of *φ* are almost the only projections above this uniform level, while the bottoms of the letters present a quite irregular appearance, not only *p* and *φ* but also *i*, *κ*, and sometimes *m*, *n*, and other letters being carried below the line. There is great unevenness in the sizes of the letters, and this, coupled with the somewhat rough forms of the letters themselves, unmodulated by any intermixture of thick and fine strokes, gives even to the better specimens, in spite of their strength and boldness, a somewhat untrained appearance. Some of this irregularity appears even in the literary hands of the period, as shown in the Petrie fragments of the *Phaedo* and *Antiope*, but it is especially characteristic of the private hands. This relative inferiority of most third-century writing is no doubt to be explained by the fact that the specimens which we possess come mainly from a newly-planted colony of veterans, who would not be over-skilled in the art of writing, and belong to a period when the Greek schoolmaster had not had time to overtake the Greek soldier. The literary specimens just mentioned prove that ornamental writing was not wholly unknown; and it is not to be supposed that even these adequately represent the manuscripts which adorned the cases of the Alexandrian Library.

* *On the Flinders Petrie Papyri*: Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs, No. viii. (1891).

† Until the discovery of the Petrie papyri there was nothing to show the date of these MSS., and the ill-formed character of the hand in which these specimens are written caused them to be placed later than the Serapeum papyri. The sheets contain-

ing these texts had been struck off before the Petrie papyri came to light; but the correct date is given in the Table and in the volume of facsimiles.

‡ See Mr. Maunde Thompson's list in Prof. Mahaffy's *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, p. 50, and *Pal. Soc.* ii., pll. 142, 143.

The second century B.C. is represented by a large number of papyri, mainly in the British Museum and at Paris. Those in the present volume are Papp. III., XV., XVII.-XXXI., XXXIII.-XXXV., XLI.-XLV. It must, however, be remembered that a large proportion of both the London and the Paris papyri came from one spot, the Serapeum at Memphis; but there is a sufficient variety of hands even among these to admit of a sound basis being laid for the palæography of the century. Some of the characteristics of the third century are occasionally found also in the second; *e.g.* the raised final stroke of η in Papp. III., XV. (8), and the shallow depression of μ in Papp. XXIV., XLII. They are much less common, however, and the appearance of a horizontal line along the top of the writing ceases almost entirely (Pap. III. is the nearest approach to an exception). The strokes become less coarse, and in the more carefully written specimens (such as Papp. XXI., XXIV., XLII., XLIV.) the letters are better and more clearly formed, and there is a greater approach towards regularity. They remain, however, large (generally larger than in the third century) and straggling, most of them are formed separately, and only rarely are more than two or three consecutive letters linked together. Indeed in the Serapeum series the cursive element is less than in many of the specimens of the previous century. Later in the century a more cursive style came in, and combinations of five or six letters are often written without raising the pen (Papp. III., XV.). Of the individual letters, α is of the minuscule type, but the loop is often represented by a mere straight line; β is very large, often extending both above and below the line; the first upright stroke of η is higher than the second, which rarely rises above the cross-bar, and is connected with the following letter by a horizontal stroke from the top; κ is generally large, especially the upright stroke; μ is sometimes like the third-century pattern, but more often the middle loop is carried lower down and bent to an angle in the centre, so as to resemble a rough capital μ ; τ is formed either by writing the cross-bar first and then drawing the pen backwards and downwards, or by making the first-half of the cross-bar and the down-stroke together, and then adding the second half of the cross-stroke, the latter being more often united with the letter that follows than with the first half of its own letter; but not omitted, as is often the case in the third century; ν is written rather like τ , by forming a wide, shallow curve, and then drawing the pen backwards and downwards, a development easily reached from the third-century form described above; ω is generally of the full-formed minuscule type, but the second loop has still a tendency to be clipped. In all our specimens from the first half of the century the style of writing is large and plain, but the later examples in Pap. XV. show the rise of a smaller, more cursive, and more ornamental hand.

After the end of the second century B.C., there is a great gap in our knowledge of Greek palæography. It is certainly remarkable that no dated writing of the first century B.C. is at present known to exist. A few literary papyri are assigned, more or less doubtfully, to this period, but of non-literary hands there is nothing. The cause of this gap is not easy to explain. No doubt the end of the Ptolemaic rule and the earlier years of the Roman supremacy were a period of much disorder and turbulence in Egypt. Legal proceedings were probably infrequent and irregular, and written records would run much danger of destruction; but yet this time of confusion cannot have blotted out writing altogether, and it is probable that the non-appearance of documents from this century is

partly accidental. Until, however, the omission is made good, it is impossible to say anything of the development of writing during this period; for when the curtain rises again a new style is found in possession, which, although clearly descended from that which has just been described, is yet markedly distinct from it and is not its immediate successor.

It is only of late years that materials for the history of Greek writing in the Roman period have come to light in any considerable numbers. In the present volume only Papp. CXXX. and CXXXI. (the latter a very important example) can be assigned to the first century after Christ, and Papp. XCVIII. and CX., and possibly XLVII., to the second; but the three last named are rather literary than private hands. Since the date at which this Catalogue closes, however, the British Museum has acquired a large number of dated documents of the first three centuries, some of which have been reproduced by the *Palaeographical Society* (Series II., pll. 144-150, 162-164). There are also very many papyri of the same period at Berlin and Vienna, but only a few of these have yet been published in facsimile.* There is no difficulty in distinguishing the writing of the Roman period from that of the Ptolemaic on the one hand and of the Byzantine on the other. As compared with the Ptolemaic hands already described, it is smaller, more cursive, neater, with easier curves and flowing ligatures. The best specimens of the first two centuries may fairly be considered more graceful and truly calligraphic than at any other period in the history of non-literary writing on papyrus. The rough strokes and hard angles of the Serapeum documents are replaced by fine strokes and delicate curves. Even the least legible examples are more even and more flowing than the earlier hands; indeed it is their very cursive character which constitutes their chief difficulty. The general tendency is to form letters as much as possible without lifting the pen; and this is especially observable in β, ε, κ, and η. In ε the horizontal bar is attached to the top of the curve by a stroke drawn backwards from the latter towards the centre. The oblique strokes of κ become a curve attached to the bottom of the upright stroke by an obliquely rising ligature, so that the whole letter assumes a shape resembling that of a written u. An almost identical shape is often assumed by β, which begins in this period to be frequently formed with open top, though the capital form continues contemporaneously. The cross-bar of η becomes a curve uniting the tops of the two upright strokes. τ becomes fork-shaped in many instances, sometimes even almost v-shaped. φ is often formed by a semicircular curve, the end of which is attached to the top of a perpendicular stroke, and the latter not unfrequently falls outside the curve altogether; at other times the circle is represented by a stroke resembling a s lying on its side, through which the perpendicular stroke descends. These characteristics run through all the first three centuries, and are consequently not sufficient in themselves for the accurate dating of MSS. Between the first and second century in particular it is not always easy to discriminate; but the earlier examples are generally in a larger, bolder, and more strongly-marked hand. Moreover, as materials increase, it is becoming more and more possible to distinguish the hands of different reigns; but the differences relate rather to the general appearance of the writing than to the forms of individual letters, and are difficult to explain in words. The single letters which form the best guide are η and σ. The η-shaped η,

* See *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung*, pll. vi.-viii.; and Wilcken's *Tafeln zur älteren griechischen Paläographie*, pll. ix.δ-xiii.

in which the cross-bar rises slightly and the second upright descends in a slight curve from it, does indeed pervade the whole period; but for a comparatively short time, mainly from about A.D. 60 to about A.D. 150 (but sporadically even later), a 7-shaped η is found in common use. It is distinguishable from the ν then in use only by the fact that the tail of the latter curls to the right, while the tail of the η is perpendicular or curls to the left. It is found largely in Pap. CXXXI., and also in the first and fourth hands of the Aristotle which is written on the *verso* of that papyrus. σ , which at the beginning of the first century is a simple upright semicircular curve, sometimes with flattened top, develops a tendency in the later years of the century to tumble more and more forward, so that in the last decade and subsequently it often appears as a semicircle facing downwards, and sometimes even with an inclination to face round backwards. It is not safe to assume that an upright σ is always early, as it continues in use throughout the Roman period; but a tumble-down σ can hardly be earlier than the close of the first century.

With the close of the second century and the beginning of the third a marked degeneration of the Roman style sets in. Letters are less formed and worse formed, and the writing becomes larger and more straggling; σ in particular is often little more than a sharply descending curve, facing almost completely backwards. The history of this decline cannot be properly traced at present, as the available materials are too scanty. Still less is it possible as yet to describe the change which came over the prevailing style shortly after the time of Diocletian. With the break-up of the empire which was initiated by that emperor, Egypt passed under different influences, and became transferred from Rome to Constantinople. This change seems to be reflected in the form and appearance of the documents written after the establishment of the new régime. Early in the fourth century dates begin to be given by the names of the consuls instead of by the regnal years of the emperors, which had been the universal practice up to that time. In A.D. 312 the system of the indiction-cycle was instituted; and from A.D. 322 onwards, we have examples of its use in dating papyri.* At the same time a change came over the handwriting of these documents. It is true that a degenerate form of the Roman hand is still found occasionally in the fourth and possibly even in the fifth century, of which instances may be seen in Papp. CXXII.-CXXV. *verso* (compare pl. xv. in Wilcken's *Tafeln*); but the official hand started on a new course of development, the effects of which are seen in the MSS. of the three following centuries.

The history of this development cannot be fully written until the Rainer papyri at Vienna (or rather a selection of them) shall have been published with facsimiles.† At present the only material publicly available is contained in Wilcken's *Tafeln* xiv. and xvi., the latter being an excellent specimen of fourth-century writing. To these may be added Pap. CXXV. *recto* of the British Museum collection, though in this MS. some of the characteristics of the Roman period are still retained. The new hand is larger than that of the Roman period, but delicately and carefully written. The letters κ and o are especially prominent; the latter, which was often reduced to a mere dot in Ptolemaic and Roman writings, now

* *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Nos 277, 279.

† Since this was written, the British Museum has acquired a

considerable number of fourth-century documents (*circa* A.D. 350), which, though usually less ornamental than the specimens mentioned below, confirm the general description here given.

becoming a large and conspicuous character. The right-hand stroke of Δ is often widely separated from the rest of the letter. The upper half of ϵ becomes a straight oblique stroke. η has already acquired the h-shape which belongs to it during the Byzantine period. σ once more stands upright, generally with a flattened top. ν is v-shaped. Regularity and order are evident in the whole character of the writing.

Two documents of the years 487 and 498 (Pap. CXIII. 5*a*) are at present the only published records of the fifth century, although there are several unpublished papyri of this period at Vienna; and these two fall barely outside the limits of the sixth century, and cannot be considered separately. From this point, however, there is abundant evidence of the documentary activity of Egyptian scribes. Legal and private papers of the sixth and seventh centuries have been discovered in very large quantities, especially in the Fayûm; and although the majority of these have gone to Vienna or Berlin, there is yet a very representative selection of them in the British Museum, which are reproduced in the present volume (Papp. CXIII. 1-13). Several of them possess precise dates, but in many instances the practice of dating by the indiction alone leaves the chronology uncertain. In the sixth century the Byzantine style is perhaps in its most characteristic form. The writing is not so delicate as in the fourth-century example just described, but it is a large, well-marked, and rather handsome hand. The letters are generally square and upright, and have several peculiarities which distinguish them from the writing of the Roman period. Examples may be seen in Papp. CXIII. 1, 3, and 4. The loop of α is large, and generally open at the top. β is generally a long irregular oval, open at the top, and with a short tail projecting downwards from the bottom right-hand corner. δ is found in both uncial and minuscule form, the latter resembling a Latin d, with a very long upright stroke. The upper half of ϵ is a straight, oblique stroke, projecting some distance above the line. η is h-shaped, the perpendicular stroke being very long. κ is generally u-shaped, and the first stroke projects far above the line. The left-hand stroke of λ comes far below the line, and is often widely separated from the right-hand stroke. μ is like the letter as here printed, the first stroke being perpendicular and descending considerably below the line. ν is sometimes of uncial type, in which case the junction of the oblique stroke with the second upright is apt to take the form of a curve; at other times it resembles a Latin n. At the end of the century (Pap. CXIII. 4), a form is found in which the oblique stroke is represented by a curve uniting the feet of the two uprights. σ is well rounded, generally divided in the middle, with the upper half sometimes rather exaggerated. τ , if not of the ordinary shape, has a long tail and is deeply forked at the top. ν is small and v-shaped, and is apt to become little more than a curved ligature in combination with other letters. The upright stroke of ϕ is generally united to the circle by a well-rounded curve.

Late in the sixth century a sloping style (of which a forerunner may be seen so early as A.D. 542 in Pap. CXIII. 5*b*) comes into use. To this period may be assigned Papp. CXIII. 2, 4 (superscription), 5 (*c*), 6 (*a*) (compare Wilcken's *Tafeln*, pl. xvii.). The shapes of the individual letters are much the same as those already described, but, in addition to the marked slope which they assume, they are also compressed laterally, losing their squareness and becoming smaller. α is more closely connected with the letter which follows, and is often a mere loop, like ν in the earlier hand. The upper half of ϵ becomes

more rounded, and, with the central cross-stroke, is often separated from the lower half. The left-hand stroke of λ becomes still more prolonged, contributing (like the up-strokes of δ and η) a good deal to the sloping appearance of the writing. The tail of the first stroke of μ is shortened. ν is not unfrequently written above the line, in the shape either of a wide and very shallow curve, or even of a straight line.

This style, which belongs to the close of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries, marks the decadence of the Byzantine style. As the seventh century progresses the decline is more evident. The letters, as shown in Papp. CXIII. 6 δ and ϵ , and 10, become smaller, more compressed, and less well formed. At the same time there appears, especially in accounts and similar documents, a rough hand abounding in abbreviations, of which instances are given in Papp. CXIII. 7-9. To this period belong the greater number of the small receipts, of which there is a large collection at Paris, and which are here represented by Papp. CXIII. 9 δ - ϵ , CXVI. Precise dating of these is, however, nearly impossible, owing to the almost universal practice of dating them by the indiction alone.

It will be understood that the indications which have just been given for determining the age of MSS. of the Byzantine period are only tentative and approximate, useful perhaps in default of other means of fixing the date, but not to be implicitly relied on. At all times in the history of palæography the characteristics of different styles have overlapped, and hands of one period survive far into the next. Byzantine traditions were, above all others, conservative and tenacious, and this tendency may have affected its scribes even in Egypt. Certainly in the document which is probably the latest in the present publication, Pap. LXXVII., some of the characteristics of even the earlier portion of the sixth century may be recognised. This manuscript, containing the Will of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, was found with several Coptic papyri of similar type, some of which bear dates in the eighth century. To this century, therefore, it must itself be ascribed; and yet the uprightness of the writing and many of the forms of the individual letters correspond to the criteria of a much earlier date. Only the somewhat broken and degenerate look of the writing, the roundness and looseness of the shapes of letters, distinguish it from the square and precise appearance of the hand from which it is descended. It is indeed a sort of posthumous child of Greek civilisation in Egypt; for Egypt had long before passed out of the dominion of the Greek empire. In A.D. 640 Alexandria was taken by the Arabs, and the supremacy of Constantinople was at an end. Arabic and Coptic papyri are found in large numbers for three centuries more; but by the beginning of the eighth century the history of Greek writing on papyrus has reached its close.

The assistance which has been received from the works of others in the preparation of the present volume has been acknowledged in the introductions to the several texts. The names which occur most frequently are those of Forshall, Revillout, Wessely, and Wilcken. Forshall's transcripts, already referred to, were naturally the basis of nearly the whole of the first and second sections of this volume. Mons. E. Revillout has published a few transcripts of papyri in the Museum collection; and his studies of the economical data of the Ptolemaic period, which have appeared in the *Revue Egyptologique*, have been

frequently consulted. Similar assistance for the Roman period has been derived from Prof. U. Wilcken's *Observationes ad historiam Aegypti provinciae Romanae* and several admirable papers in *Hermes* and elsewhere. But special acknowledgment is due to Dr. K. Wessely, who has worked over very much of the ground occupied by the present volume, and whose transcripts have invariably afforded most valuable assistance. A number of other publications by Dr. Wessely, not directly relating to the British Museum papyri, have also been continually consulted with great advantage; among which may be mentioned his texts of the Paris magical papyri (*Denkschriften der kais. Akademie in Wien*, 1888) and of the Paris Fayûm papyri (*Revue Egyptologique*, 1885, = *Jahresbericht des k. k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernalds*, 1888-89, 1889-90, and *Denkschriften der kais. Akademie*, 1889), his *Prolegomena ad Papyrorum Graecorum novam collectionem edendam*, 1883, *Ephesia Grammata*, 1886, and many articles in *Wiener Studien* and *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*. Two works, of great interest to students of papyri, appeared too late to be used in the preparation of this Catalogue, viz. the *Führer durch der Ausstellung der Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer*, edited by Prof. J. Karabacek (the Greek section by Wessely), and the first three parts of the texts of the Greek papyri at Berlin, edited by Wilcken, Krebs, and Viereck. On this topic only one word is needed in conclusion. In following the work of others (especially in the case of transcripts of texts) corrections are at times necessary, sometimes rather frequently; but it must be understood that the indication of such corrections is not intended as a claim of superiority. It is comparatively easy to follow in another's footsteps and see where he has gone astray; but the cases in which the first editor has saved his followers from mistakes or lightened the task of decipherment cannot be enumerated, and must be included in a general acknowledgment.

The constant assistance of Mr. G. F. Warner, under whose direction and revision the whole volume has been executed, has been mentioned in the Preface. To that aid the fullest acknowledgment of all is due; for it is impossible to say how greatly the present Catalogue has benefited by it.

F. G. K.

Jan. 2nd, 1893.

TABLE OF THE PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPARTMENT OF MSS.

	DATE.	NO. IN FORSHALL'S CATALOGUE.	TEXT.
I. Fragment	1st or 2nd cent.	XLIII.	229
II. Fragment of accounts (not printed)	"	"	"
III. Deed of sale	B.C. 146 or 135.	I.	44
IV.—XIV. Coptic Papyri	"	"	"
XV. (1-16). Fragments of banking records	<i>circa</i> B.C. 131-0.	XXIV.—XL.	50
XVI. Coptic Papyrus	"	"	"
XVII. Serapeum	B.C. 162.	VI.	10
XVIII. "	B.C. 161.	XIV.	22
XIX. "	"	X.	16
XX. "	B.C. 162.	IV.	8
XXI. "	"	V.	12
XXII. "	B.C. 164-3.	III.	7
XXIII. "	B.C. 158-7.	II.	37
XXIV. <i>recto</i> . "	B.C. 163.	XV.	31
" <i>verso</i> . "	B.C. 161.	XV.	26
XXV. Accounts	B.C. 162-0.	XXI.	162
XXVI. Serapeum	B.C. 162-1.	XVI.	21
XXVII. "	B.C. 162.	VII.	14
XXVIII. "	<i>circa</i> B.C. 162.	XVII.	43
XXIX. Accounts	B.C. 160.	XXII.	163
XXX. "	2nd cent. B.C.	XX.	164
XXXI. Serapeum	B.C. 162.	VIII.	15
XXXII. Public notice	7th cent.	XLIV.	230
XXXIII. Serapeum	B.C. 161.	XI.	19
XXXIV. "	"	IX.	17
XXXV. "	"	XIII.	24
XXXVI. Coptic Papyrus	"	"	"
XXXVII. { Psalter, containing Ps. xi. 2—xix. 6, } { xxi. 14—xxxv. 6 }	7th cent. (?)	"	{ Tischendorf, <i>Mon. Sac.</i> <i>Ined.</i> , nov. coll. i. (1855), p. 217.
XXXVIII.—XL. Coptic Papyri	"	"	"
XLI. Serapeum	B.C. 161.	XII.	27
XLII. "	B.C. 172.	XVIII.	29
XLIII. Private letter	2nd cent. B.C.	XIX.	48
XLIV. Serapeum	B.C. 161.	"	33
XLV. "	B.C. 160-159.	"	35
XLVI. Magic	4th cent. (?)	"	64
XLVII. "	2nd cent. (?)	"	81
XLVIII. Coptic Papyrus	"	"	"
XLIX. Fragments (not printed)	6th or 7th cent.	"	"
L. Assessment of house	3rd cent. B.C.	"	48
LIA. Fragment of petition	3rd cent. B.C.	"	59
LIb. Fragment (not printed)	3rd cent. B.C.	"	"
LII.—LXXIV. Coptic Papyri	"	"	"
LXXV. Fragment of assessment (not printed)	2nd cent.	"	<i>Archæologia</i> , xix. 160.
LXXVI. Coptic Papyrus	"	"	"
LXXVII. Will of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis	8th cent.	"	231
LXXVIII.—XCVII. Coptic Papyri	"	"	"

TABLE OF THE PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPARTMENT OF MSS.—*continued.*

	DATE.	TEXT.
XCVIII. <i>recto</i> . Horoscope	2nd cent.	126
„ <i>verso</i> . Hyperides, Funeral Oration	2nd or 3rd cent.	{ ed. with facsimile by C. Babington (1858); described in <i>Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Greek)</i> , 1881, p. 9.
XCIX. Accounts	4th cent.	158
C.—CV. Coptic Papyri		
CVI. Petition	B.C. 261 or 223	60
CVII. Homer, Il. xviii. 1-218, 311-617	1st cent. B.C.	{ ed. E. M. Thompson and G. F. Warner, <i>Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Greek)</i> , p. 1.
CVIII. { Hyperides, Orations against Demosthe- nes and for Lycophron (fragments)	1st cent. B.C.	{ ed. Babington (1850); described in <i>Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Greek)</i> , p. 8.
CIXA. Accounts	2nd cent.	150
CIXB. „ „ „	2nd cent.	151
CX. Horoscope	A.D. 138.	130
CXI. Small fragments (not printed)	2nd or 3rd cent.	
CXII. Latin Charter, from Ravenna	A.D. 616-619	{ ed. E. A. Bond, <i>Facsimiles of Ancient Charters</i> , pt. iv. (1878).
CXIII. Papyri from the Fayûm :—		
1. Record of lawsuit	6th cent.	199
2. Form of conveyance of property	6th or 7th cent.	204
3. Lease of a farm	6th cent.	207
4. „ „ „	A.D. 595.	208
5 (a). Lease of a dwelling	A.D. 498.	210
5 (b). „ „ „	A.D. 543.	211
5 (c). „ „ „	A.D. 600.	212
6 (a). „ „ „	Late 6th cent.	212
6 (b). „ „ „	A.D. 633.	214
6 (c). Acknowledgment of a loan	6th or 7th cent.	215
7. Account relating to wine	7th cent.	217
8 (a). „ „ „	7th cent.	218
8 (b). Account of expenditure	7th cent.	220
8 (c). Assessment	7th cent.	220
9 (a-c). Receipts	7th cent.	220
10. Receipt for payment for military supplies	A.D. 639-640.	222
11 (a). Contract relating to wine	6th or 7th cent.	223
11 (b). Petition for redress	6th or 7th cent.	224
12 (a-c). Theological fragments	6th or 7th cent.	224
12 (a). Petition for redress	7th cent.	227
13 (a, b). Theological fragments	6th or 7th cent.	227
14 (a-c). Fragments (not printed)	6th or 7th cent.	
15 (a, b). „ „ „	6th or 7th cent.	
15 (c). { Fragment, with portion of sketch (not printed)	6th or 7th cent.	
16. { Large document, much obliterated (not printed)	7th cent.	
CXIV. Homer, Il. xxiv. 127-804	2nd cent.	{ described in <i>Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Greek)</i> , p. 6.
CXV. { Hyperides, Orations for Lycophron and Euxenippus	1st cent. B.C.	{ ed. Babington (1853) with facsimile; described in <i>Cat. of Ancient MSS. (Greek)</i> , p. 7.
CXVI. (a, b). Receipts	7th cent.	221
CXVII. { Fragments of Epicurus <i>περί φύσεως</i> , bk. ii., from Herculaneum (roll 1149)	1st cent. B.C.	{ described by W. Scott, <i>Fragmenta Her- culanensia</i> (1885), p. 53.
CXVIII. { Four charred rolls from Herculaneum (unopened)		
CXIX. Assessments of taxation	2nd cent.	140
CXX. 1. Fragments of an account (not printed)	6th or 7th cent.	
2 (a). Fragment (not printed)	6th or 7th cent.	

TABLE OF THE PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPARTMENT OF MSS.—*continued.*

		DATE.	TEXT.
CXX. 2 (δ).	Fragment, dated 'the 35th year' (not printed)	A.D. 4	
3.	{ Nine small parchment leaves, containing the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, roughly written, with invocation to the Nile prefixed, asking for a good inundation (not printed). }	6th or 7th cent. (?)	
4 (α).	{ Short account, on parchment (not printed) }	7th cent.	
4 (δ).	Receipt, on parchment (not printed)	7th cent.	
CXXI.	Magic	3rd cent. (?)	83
CXXII.	"	4th cent. (?)	115
CXXIII.	"	4th cent. (?)	120
CXXIV.	"	4th or 5th cent.	121
CXXV. recto.	Accounts	4th cent.	192
" verso.	Magic	4th or 5th cent.	123
CXXVI. recto.	Homer, Il. ii. 101—iv. 40	4th or 5th cent.	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts from Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> (1891), p. 81.
" verso.	Tryphon, τεχνὴ γραμματικὴ	5th cent. (?)	{ ed. F. G. Kenyon, <i>Classical Texts</i> (1891), p. 109.
CXXVII.	Homer, Il. v., vi., xviii. (fragments)	3rd or 4th cent.	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 98.
CXXVIII.	Homer, Il. xxiii., xxiv. (fragments)	1st cent. B.C.	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 100; ed. F. G. Kenyon, <i>Journal of Philology</i> xxi. 296 (1892).
CXXIX.	Homer, Il. i. (fragments)	(?)	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 80.
CXXX.	Horoscope	1st or 2nd cent.	132
CXXXI. recto.	Accounts	A.D. 78—79.	166
" verso.	Aristotle, Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία	circ. A.D. 100.	{ ed. F. G. Kenyon (1891); 3rd ed. (1892); facsimile (1891).
CXXXII.	Isocrates, περὶ Εἰρήνης	1st cent. (?)	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 63.
CXXXIII.	Demosthenes, 3rd Epistle	{ 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. }	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 56.
CXXXIV.	{ Hyperides, Oration against Philippides (fragment) }	{ 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. }	{ ed. F. G. Kenyon, <i>Classical Texts</i> (1891), p. 42.
CXXXV.	Herodas, Μυϊάμβοι	{ 1st or 2nd cent. (?) }	{ ed. F. G. Kenyon, <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 1; facsimile (1892).
CXXXVI.	Homer, Il. iii., iv. (fragments)	3rd cent.	{ collated in <i>Classical Texts</i> , p. 93.
CXXXVII.	Medical Treatise, περὶ Νόσων	2nd cent.	{ described in <i>Classical Review</i> , vol. vi. (1892), p. 237.
CXXXVIII.	Latin Deed	6th cent.	

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

The lines referred to are those of the Greek texts on the pages in question.

- Page 3, *note*. For 30th read 29th.
- Page 5. In addition to the papyri described in this Introduction as relating to the Serapeum, there is also one at Dresden (published by Wessely, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1885, pp. 276–284), containing on one side of it another draft of the petition which appears in Paris Pap. 30 and Leyden Pap. D, and on the other a petition addressed to Sarapion with reference to the allowance of bread due to the twins. This is much altered and corrected, but it appears to have been actually presented, since it bears a docket (presumably by Sarapion) referring it to Mennides, and another (perhaps by Mennides) referring it to the clerks. The reference to Mennides makes it probable that it is the petition mentioned in Paris Pap. 27 (= Leyden Pap. E), ll. 5–10. It should consequently be added to the list of the papyri relating to the bread on p. 6, probably after Vatican Pap. D; but the exact order of the documents in this class is uncertain.
- Page 13. Delete note on l. 21; *idiai* = *idiai*.
- Page 18, l. 10 *note*. For *χός* read *χοῦς*.
- Page 22. At end of introduction for 30th read 29th.
- Page 25, l. 30, *note*. For *ανταποδοῦν* read *ανταποδοσει*.
- Page 36, l. 11. For *γεινιων των* read *γεινιωντων*.
- Page 41, l. 97. For *αρχ[υπε]ρετην* read *αρχ[υπε]ρετην* from F., in whose time the papyrus appears to have been complete; and in l. 121 read *αρχεπερετην*.
- Page 48. On the date of Pap. L. see p. ix., *note*.
- Page 56. Delete note on l. 10, except the last sentence.
- Page 59. In introductory note on Pap. LIA., the date should be altered to 3rd cent. B.C.; see p. ix., *note*.
- Page 60. The date of Pap. CVI. should be given as B.C. 261 or B.C. 223. A comparison of the handwriting with those of the Petrie papyri (see Introduction, p. ix.) shows that it must belong to the 3rd century B.C., and the 25th year can consequently only be that of Philadelphus or of Euergetes I., probably the latter.
- Page 65, *top line*. For 1889 read 1888, and for known read used.
- Page 67, l. 67. For *f* read *5'* (= *αὐτοῦ*).
- „ l. 77 *note*. *παράδος*.
- „ l. 78. For *τατι* read *τα τι* (*i.e.* τὸν ἄραντά τι).
- Page 79, l. 439, *note*. Goodwin's explanation of *ρ γρ* as = *ιερογραφικόν* can hardly be accepted; no abbreviation on such a principle is known elsewhere. The real explanation must be *ἐκατὸν γραμμάτων*, “the hundred-letter name of Hermes”; cf. Pap. CXXII. l. 44 *seq.*
- Page 90, l. 192 *note*. *χρίε*.
- Page 91, l. 217. *γρα[φείω]*.
- Page 96, l. 366. For *του* read *τον*.
- Page 99, l. 482. For *αψαγαη* read *αχαγαη* (cf. l. 488).
- Page 101, l. 539. For *κατ αναγκης* read *καταναγκης*.
- „ l. 542. For *αφονητω* read *αφον ητω*, and delete *note*.
- Page 105, l. 649. For *εφησωρας* read *εφ ης ωρας*.
- Page 108, l. 757 *note*. Delete either Isis or, and add at end (*μηνω* = *Μήνην*).
- Page 111, l. 845. For *εγγραφαςθες* read *εγγραφας θες*, and add *note* *εγγραφας* probably stands for *ἐγγράφας*.
- Page 112, l. 882. Read . . . *ωνειλαρωτι νυχια*.
- „ l. 894. For *προσκαθηγουμενον* read *προς καθηγουμενον*.
- Page 118, l. 73. For *κατ αναγκη* read *καταναγκη*.
- Page 130, l. 61 *note*. *ώροσκόπος*.
- Page 154, l. 60 *note*. For *arouras* read *artabas*.
- Page 156, l. 107. For *Ψεβαμονις* read *Ψεθαμονις*.
- Page 184, l. 485. For *Ψενσπει* read *Ψενσπει*.
- Page 273, col. 2, l. 13. For *δεκάεξ* read *δεκαέξ*.

CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI.

1. THE SERAPEUM AT MEMPHIS.

THE documents relating to the Serapeum at Memphis form by far the largest section of the papyri at present in the British Museum. They are part of a collection of papyri found by Arabs on the site of the temple early in the present century, enclosed, by their own account, in a single vessel. According to their custom, they divided the hoard into several portions, thinking to make more profit by selling them separately. In this way the collection has been scattered among several of the principal museums of Europe, and it is only as the separate detachments have been published by different editors that it has been possible to put together a complete account of the matters to which they refer. The Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre Museum in Paris have thirty-eight papyri which are more or less connected with the Serapeum. These have been edited by M. Brunet de Presle, chiefly from papers left by M. Letronne, and were published, with an atlas of facsimiles of the originals, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres Bibliothèques* (vol. xviii.), in 1865. Four papyri from the Serapeum are in the Vatican, and were edited by Signor Bernardino Peyron in 1841, together with those in the British Museum relating to the same subject. Four more are in the museum at Leyden, and were published, along with a number of other papyri in the same museum, with facsimiles of portions of the text, by Dr. C. Leemans in 1843. Finally, the British Museum possesses nineteen papyri of the same group, besides others containing accounts which may or may not come from the same source. Seventeen of these were included in the edition of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum published by J. Forshall in 1839, with facsimiles of specimens of the writings. Forshall's text was republished by Signor Bernardino Peyron in 1841 with a commentary, as mentioned above, but without any fresh study of the text.

These documents fall into three main groups. By far the largest number of them refer to the grievances of a certain pair of twin girls, who held some position as attendants in the temple of Serapis, in return for which they had a right to certain allowances of oil and bread. These allowances were withheld in the years 164-162 B.C.; and accordingly they and their friend and protector, Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, a Macedonian living as a recluse in the temple, make constant petition to the king, Ptolemy Philometor, and the various

officers of Memphis and the temple for restitution of their dues. One group therefore of the Serapeum documents consists of the correspondence relating to the arrears of oil due to the twins. The second includes those which refer to the arrears of bread. The third is a miscellaneous group, embracing the remaining documents belonging to the Serapeum, some of which are connected with some of the same persons as those who appear in the preceding groups, while others are not so connected.

The story of the twins has been told, more or less, in most of the editions of the papyri relating to them which have been published by the various museums in which they are kept; but it will be necessary to tell it over again, in order to make the text of the documents which follow here, and the notes upon them, intelligible; the more so as the only English edition of these papyri, namely Forshall's, contains neither introduction nor commentary on the subject-matter. Not all the documents enumerated above refer to it. The story which follows is put together from the contents of thirteen papyri in the British Museum, ten from the Paris collection, four from Leyden, and two from the Vatican; some of them being, however, duplicates of the same document.

The Serapeum, or temple of Serapis, at Memphis consisted of a large range of buildings standing a short distance outside the city, and embraced within its precincts a number of dependent chapels or shrines dedicated to other deities, such as those of Æsculapius (Pap. XLI. 1, etc.) and Astarte (Pap. XLIV. 9). Its inhabitants included the attendants who took part in the ceremonies of the temple worship, and also certain persons who had taken up their abode there as recluses (*ἐν κατοχῇ*), some of whom were forbidden by the terms of their vows to leave the premises of the temple (Pap. XLV. 18, but *cf.* Pap. XXIV. 22). Among these latter was one Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, a Macedonian by birth, whose father had settled in a village named Psychin, in the nome of Heracleopolis (Pap. XLV.), and died at some time in the course of the years 170-164 (Pap. XXIII. 5). Ptolemy himself had entered on his life of seclusion before this date, in the year 173; but we know nothing of any events in his life for nearly ten years after that time, beyond an allusion to the fact of his having been violently assaulted by some of the Egyptian attendants at the temple, on the ground of his being a Greek, some time before 163, in which year the outrage was repeated, as it was again two years later (Vat. Pap. B; Brit. Mus. Pap. XLIV.). But the character in which he chiefly appears in these papyri is as protector and advocate of two girls, twins, named Thauēs and Thaus, who were among the attendants at the temple. The story of these girls is told in the Paris Pap. 22. Their father, whose name is not given, had married a woman named Nephoris (she is never called the mother of the twins, and was probably their stepmother), and lived in Memphis. She, however, deserted him, and, in consequence of a murderous assault made on him by the man with whom she was living, he was forced to fly to Heracleopolis, and there shortly died. The woman Nephoris appropriated all his property, including that which belonged to the girls, and then turned the latter out of doors. In their destitute condition Ptolemy, who had been a friend of their father's, intervened, and procured for them a situation in connection with the temple of Serapis.

These events occurred in the year 165 B.C. In the month Phamenoth (the 7th of the Egyptian year) the death of an Apis took place, and it was during the period of mourning

for it (τὸ πένθος) that the twins entered on their duties, in succession to another pair of twins who had held the same office (Pap. XXII. 10, XVII. 14). Their duties included the offering of libations and service to Isis and Serapis and also to Æsculapius. In return for these services they had a right to an allowance of two measures (about 18 gallons) of two kinds of oil (σησάμινον and κίκι) a year, and eight loaves of bread a day, in respect of their services in the Serapeum proper, and three loaves a day for those connected with the Asclepeum. For the first six months these allowances were paid regularly, but from the commencement of the 18th year of the reigning king (Ptolemy Philometor), corresponding with the latter half of 164 B.C.,* they began to fall very much into arrear. For a long time the twins seem to have confined themselves to remonstrances with the subordinate officials, but, as these proved useless, towards the end of the 18th year (early in 163 B.C.) they decided to appeal to the higher authorities. Their cause was taken up by their protector Ptolemy, to whose pen the numerous documents which follow are mostly due. The earliest in time is the Brit. Mus. Pap. XXII., in which a representation of their grievances in the matter of the oil is made to Sarapion, the sub-governor (ὑποδιοικητής) of Memphis. This appears to have had no effect; and we hear no more of them till in the following year the same necessity impelled them to appeal to an even higher power. In the course of the year 163-2 B.C. the king Ptolemy Philometor and his queen Cleopatra paid a visit to the Serapeum to do worship there. The twins seized the opportunity to present a petition to him on the subject of their grievances generally (Paris Pap. 26, l. 3), which may possibly be that preserved in Paris Pap. 22. This also appears to have failed to produce any practical effect, the king perhaps forgetting to do anything in the matter; and accordingly the twins returned to the charge with a second petition (Leyden Pap. B.), which must have been presented in the first days of the new year, the twentieth of the king's reign, as it bears the note of a favourable reply from the king dated the 6th of Thouth (the first month). This note required Asclepiades, the governor of Memphis, to examine into the matter and pay the twins their claims. After some delay this officer passed on the duty to his subordinate, Sarapion, on Phaophi 20th, and the latter again handed it on to a lower official, the ἀντιγραφεύς or head-clerk, Dorion. Meanwhile the twins had become impatient, and in a third petition to the king (Paris Pap. 26) pressed their necessities earnestly upon his notice. It may be that it was this fresh petition which had impelled the governor to take action; anyhow, the pursuit of the oil becomes vigorous from this point.

Shortly after Phaophi 20th Dorion's report (Paris Pap. 25) was handed in, stating the amount of oil due to the twins. This report was communicated to them, and on Athur 2nd Ptolemy called the attention of Sarapion to it, and begged him to follow up the matter (Brit. Mus. Pap. XX.). Sarapion passed on the matter to Mennides, the ἐπιμελητής or overseer of the Serapeum, and he in turn, on Athur 3rd, to his clerks. Ten days later one of the latter, Apollonius, handed in his report (Brit. Mus. Pap. XVII. a.) confirming that already made by Dorion. In accordance with this, Mennides, on Athur 17th, instructed one of his subordinates,

* The Egyptian year began on the 30th of August (1st Thouth), and therefore the correspondence with our methods of dating is very vague. There is some uncertainty as to the accession of

Ptolemy Philometor; but probably it was late in 182 B.C., in which case his 18th year corresponds with 164-3 B.C.

Theon, to order the payment to the representative of the twins of the two measures of sesamé oil due to them for the two preceding years, and a third measure of the same in substitution for the two measures of the less valuable *κικι* oil which was likewise due. This instruction took partial effect on Athur 25th, when the final order (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXVII.) was made out for the payment of *two* measures of sesamé oil (without any mention of the third). The same day the oil was delivered to Demetrius, the representative of the twins, and his receipt taken for it (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXXI.); and two days later the brother of Ptolemy gave Demetrius a full acquittance for the same (Leyden Pap. C, which is misdated; cf. introductory note to Pap. XXXI.). But this still left one measure of sesamé oil due to the twins; and here the representatives of officialdom made a last stand, refusing, on what grounds we are not told, to make payment of it. Ptolemy, who had been so sensitive to any delay in the progress of his cause as to put in a petition to Sarapion between Athur 13th and 25th to hurry the wheels of the official chariot (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXI.), lost no time in calling the attention of Mennides to this conduct on the part of his subordinates (Paris Pap. 31). We have no documents to tell us how the matter terminated, but we can have no doubt on the point. Ptolemy was not the person to abandon any of his clients' claims without a long struggle and a large series of petitions; and when we find him in the course of the very next month writing to Sarapion, and, after thanking him for his services to the twins in respect of their claims for the 18th and 19th years, proceeding to illustrate the saying that gratitude is a lively sense of favours to come by begging him to help them again in their claim for their dues for the 20th year, without any reference to any part of the earlier claim being still unsatisfied, we may be quite sure that his representation to Mennides had taken effect, and that the remaining measure of oil had been paid over to the twins shortly after Athur 25th.

This triumph closes the first campaign of Ptolemy and the twins, and, though the government officials might have a little further correspondence in order to clear up one or two points among themselves (Brit. Mus. Pap. XIX.), it might have been expected that the successful petitioners would rest content for a time with this success. But either Ptolemy was too fond of writing petitions to leave off, or else he thought it best to follow up the advantage gained without delay; and accordingly in less than a month we find him entering on a second campaign, with the object of securing for the twins their allowance of oil for the twentieth year, then current. Proceedings were opened on Choiach 23rd by a petition to Sarapion, who was apparently about to leave the district (Paris Pap. 30 = Leyden Pap. D). An official correspondence follows, going through the whole ceremony of dockets, references, and reports, as if they had not been through it all a month or two before (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXXIV.; Leyden Pap. D, col. 2). Reports as to the twins' annual allowance were duly drawn up, but payment was still deferred; and we have glimpses of the twins and their champion still petitioning in vain as the year progresses (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXXIII. = Paris Pap. 33; Paris Pap. 29), and no records remain to say whether their efforts were in the end again rewarded with success.

Meanwhile a separate correspondence had been proceeding on the same lines in reference to the allowances of bread to which the twins were likewise entitled. The documents relating to this subject form the second of the groups into which the

Serapeum papyri have been above divided. Owing to the absence of precise dates to the correspondence, it does not fall into the same dramatic shape as the contest for the oil, and it is difficult to fix the exact order of the documents. The correspondence begins at a later point than that which relates to the oil, the earliest document being a petition addressed by Ptolemy to Sarapion in the course of the year 162-1 B.C., setting forth that the allowances due to the twins from the Serapeum and Asclepeum are greatly in arrear, and asking for his assistance (Vat. Pap. D). The remaining documents all apparently belong to the last month or two of the same year.

A report was drawn up stating in detail the exact amount of the arrears due to the twins, from the 18th year up to the date of the report (Brit. Mus. Pap. XVIII.); and a petition, summarising its contents, was sent in to Sarapion, fortified by an answer of a favourable nature which had meanwhile been obtained from the king (Brit. Mus. Pap. XXXV.). In accordance with this petition Sarapion instructed Mennides to see that the twins received their dues. Mennides transmitted the order to Psinthaes, the overseer of the temple stores; but that official, who, as an Egyptian, was probably not over-well disposed to the Greeks who were causing him so much trouble, took no notice of the matter. Accordingly another petition was sent in to Sarapion, calling his attention to this fact (Paris Pap. 27 = Leyden Pap. E); and this was reinforced with yet another, almost in the same terms (Vat. Pap. C), which may indeed be only an alternative version of the other. The remaining document of this group (Brit. Mus. Pap. XLI.) stands rather by itself; for, while the others deal exclusively or mainly with the allowances due from the Serapeum, this is confined to the loaves payable in respect of the services of the Asclepeum. Probably it should stand early in the whole correspondence, as it is evidently the first to set forth in detail the claim arising under this head.

In this condition of affairs the story of the twins closes. We do not know whether they ever obtained the arrears of bread and oil due to them at the close of the year 162-1 B.C. We do not know how long they continued in the service of Serapis, and how long the friendly Ptolemy continued to write petitions on their behalf. We can only suppose that, for one reason or another, the necessity ceased, as no later documents referring to the twins have come down to us. That Ptolemy continued to flourish and to plague the officials of the court and city with petitions on various topics, we know from several papers included in the collections of the different museums; but we have no such detailed and connected story as that which is contained in the drama of the twins and their bread and oil.

It may be useful to append a list in chronological order of the papyri in the several collections relating to this subject, so far as it can be made out. It is not certain in all cases; but the reasons for the order here adopted will generally be found in the introductions and notes to the papyri which follow.

1. Papyri relating to the arrears of oil of the 18th and 19th years:

Brit. Mus. XXII.

Paris 25.

Paris 22, 23.

Paris 26.

Leyden B

Brit. Mus. XX.

Brit. Mus. XVII. (a).	Brit. Mus. XXXI.
Brit. Mus. XVII. (c).	Leyden C.
Brit. Mus. XVII. (d).	Paris 31.
Brit. Mus. XXI.	Brit. Mus. XIX.
Brit. Mus. XXVII.	

II. Papyri relating to the arrears of oil of the 20th year :

Paris 30 [= Leyden D].	Brit. Mus. XXXIII. [= Paris 33].
Brit. Mus. XXXIV.	Paris 29.

III. Papyri relating to the arrears of bread :

Vatican D.	Brit. Mus. XXXV., XXIV. (vers.).
Brit. Mus. XLI.	Paris 27, 28 [= Leyden E].
Brit. Mus. XVIII.	Vatican C.

PAPYRUS XXII. [FORSHALL III.]—164-3 B.C.

THIS is the first in point of time of the documents relating to the arrears of oil due to the twins. The date is given in an unusual fashion, not by the regnal year of Ptolemy Philometor, but by that of Ptolemy Euergetes, his brother, who assumed the throne in 170 B.C., when Philometor had fallen into the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, and continued to reign jointly with him till a quarrel, in which Philometor obtained the support of Rome, resulted in the expulsion of Euergetes in 164 B.C. Accordingly, the sixth year mentioned in l. 13 = the seventeenth of Philometor, or 165 B.C.; and the date of the document may be fixed as somewhere in the course of 164-3 B.C. The petition is addressed to Sarapion, sub-governor of Memphis, whose name appears frequently in the present series of documents, and who seems to have uniformly received the petitions of the twins with favour.

The papyrus measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and is written in a large and plain hand. The grammar and writing are unusually free from mistakes.

- Σαραπιωνι υποδιοικητη
 παρα Τηγητος και Ταυτος
 διδυμων των εν τωι προς
 Μεμφιν μεγαλωι Σαραπειωι
 ημων
- 5 θεραπεουσων υπερ του
 βασιλεως αξιουμεν εαν σοι
 φαινηται εκθειναι ημιν
 το γινον ελαιου μετρητην
 ενα τον ενιαυτον καθοτι
- 10 και ταις προνπαρχουσαις
 ημων εν τωι τοπωι αλλαις
 διδυμαις εγνωτο επει .και
 το 5L ειληφαμεν εως
 μεσορη λ̄ απο δε του
- 15 θωντ Lζ ουδεν ειλη
 φαμεν ποιουμεναι μεγα
 λας λειτουργιας τωι θεωι
 ουδε τα γνωμενα ημιν ε
 κ τ[ο]ν ιερου δεοντα καθοτι
- 20 κα[ι] εθος εστιν επ[ε]ι ουν
 τ[ην] καταφυγην επ[ι] σε πε
 π[οιη]μεθα μη περ[ι]δης η
 μας ασθενως διακειμενας
 τουτου δε γενομενου ε

25 σομεθα τετευχνιαι της
 παρα σου βοηθειας και δι
 α σε τας χρειας επιτελου
 σα[ι] τωι θεωι
 ευτυχει

On the reverse, in a quite different hand:—

30 Αρης . . εργηντι χα. ριν πεπ[λ]ηρωκας
 με απο Λκ̄ θωνθ α ηως φαωφι ι

At the other end of the sheet, inverted:—

Λκ . . θωνθ α απεχω παρα	τουτω[ν]
	απεχει
. και πα	Αρης πα
	[ρ] εμου
	[χ]οιαχ
ρα Αφροδεισιωι ι α φ	θ ι αν
	ι ι αν

Line 1. *υποδιοικητη*: *sc.* of Memphis.

Line 2. There is some variety about the ways of writing the names of the twins, but the usual form is *Θωνθ και Θανθ*.

Line 8. *γινον*, *i.e.* *γινόμενον*. The annual allowance is elsewhere stated at one *μετρητης* of sesamé oil, and one of the oil of the *κίκι*.

Line 14. *μεσορη* is the last month of the year, *θωνθ* the first.

Line 30. *χα. ριν*: it is uncertain whether this is intended for

χάριν or *χαίρειν*; probably the latter, making *με* the object of *πεπλήρωκας*. F. reads the last letters as *δος*, but the *κ* seems clear.

Line 32. It is not clear if there are intended to be two alphas after *θωνθ*: F. only reads one.

Line 34. ι is the usual symbol for *drachma*, and ι is the symbol to denote a remainder.

PAPYRUS XX. [FORSHALL IV.]—162 B.C.

IT seems that towards the end of 163 B.C. the twins presented a petition, written for them by Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, to the king Ptolemy Philometor and his sister and queen, Cleopatra, asking for the arrears of their allowance of oil. The king returned a favourable answer, commanding a report to be made and the allowances paid over. The report was drawn up by Dorion, who is designated as *ἀντιγραφεύς*, or controlling clerk, and exists, in a fragmentary state, among the Paris papyri. A copy of it was sent to Sarapion; and the present document, addressed by Ptolemy to that officer, is intended to recall his attention to the matter and to beg him to take the necessary steps to give effect to the order of the king. Two official dockets are appended to it: the first by Sarapion, desiring Mennides, the *ἐπιμελητής* or overseer of the Serapeum, to inquire into the matter and pay to the twins what is right; the second by Mennides, commissioning the clerks to make the inquiry. The dockets are dated Athur 2nd and 3rd, 162 B.C., which gives the approximate date of the petition itself.

The papyrus measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$, and is mutilated in a few places, but is otherwise plainly written and with few mistakes.

- Σαραπιωνι των διαδοχων και
 υποδιοικητη παρα Πτολεμαι
 ου Μακεδωνος του οντος εν κατοχη
 και των διδυμων αποδεδομε
 5 ης τω βασιλει εντευξεως
 υπο των διδυμων περ των
 καθηκοντων αυταις ης κεχρημα
 τισμενης επι σε σου δε προσδε
 ηθεντος της παρα Δωριων[ος]
 10 του αντιγραφews προς ταυτα
 αναφοραν [τ]ης ὑπο του αδελφου
 μου αποδεδομενης σοι τη α
 του φαωφι και συνηκολουθη
 κοτοι σοι εις Πτολεμαιδα
 15 του Αρσωνιτου συνεταξας
 ως αν εις Μεμφων των δε
 μεγιστων θεων καθ ην ε[χ]εις
 εις αυτου[ς] ε]κ προγονικης α[ι]
 ρεσε[ως] ευσεβειαν
 20 αγει . . . ων επι τους τοπους
 αξιω σεε αναλαβοντα
 τον παρα Δωριωνος χρομα
 τισμον επιτελεσαι
 ακολουθως ευτυχει.
 25 Μεννιδει επισκεψαμενον
 οσα καθηκει αποδουναι

 Λκ αθρυ β τοις γραματευσι
 εψισκεψαμενους ανενεγ
 κειν Λκ αθρυ γ

Line 1. *διαδοχων*: the meaning of the phrase is discussed by Peyron (*Papiri Greci nel Museo Britannico*, p. 42 *seq.*), who shows that it was originally applied to the reinforcements sent from Macedonia to Alexander after his Indian campaign; while a force of Orientals, trained and armed in the Macedonian fashion, received the name of *ἐπίγονοι*. From this fact the names probably came to denote certain ranks and privileges in the army of Alexander and his successors, after the original meaning had disappeared.

Line 5. *εντευξεως*: perhaps the one preserved in Paris Pap. 22, which recites very fully the early history and troubles of the twins; or else that which is given in Leyden Pap. B, which was certainly presented to the king, and has a favourable docket appended to it dated 6th Thouth, 162 B.C.

Line 9. See Paris Pap. 25, which is a mutilated report by Dorian, containing phrases which are referred to in Pap. xvii. (a) of the present collection.

παρα: a *v* has been added above the line before this word, probably with the intention of changing the preposition to *υπο*,

or else by confusion with l. 11, where a similar addition had to be made.

Line 11. *αναφοραν*: a slip for *αναφορας*. *αδελφου*: Ptolemy, being confined to the Serapeum, used his brother Apollonius for conducting business outside it, as appears from several documents.

Line 13. *φαωφι*: the second month of the year.

Line 15. *Αρσωνιτου*: *sc. νόμου*.

Line 20. The sense is incomplete, but the lacuna here may account for it.

Line 25. Note by Sarapion: see Pap. xxi. 14.

Line 27. Note by Mennides: see Pap. xxi. 16. The date in this line probably belongs to the first docket, having been written some little way below it and the second docket begun close after it.

Line 28. *εψισκεψαμενους*: originally written *εψισκεψαμενον*; the *ψ* is left uncorrected, but the termination has been altered to *-ους*.

PAPYRUS XVII. [FORSHALL VI.]—162 B.C.

THIS papyrus includes three documents, and follows closely on Papyrus XX. The first document is the report which Mennides, in his docket to Pap. XX., desired the clerks to make; it is headed by the name of Apollonius, who is probably the clerk who drew it up. It recapitulates several preceding documents, and reports that there are certain arrears of oil due to the twins for the years 164-3 and 163-2. It is dated Athur 13th, 162 B.C. The next document in order of time is the one which stands third on the papyrus, being written on the second of the two columns of which the papyrus consists. It is an order by Mennides, dated Athur 17th, in accordance with the report of the clerks and other documents which are referred to, requiring a subordinate named Theon to pay over the amount due to the twins. The remaining document, written at the bottom of the first column and top of the second, is an order from Theon to one Dionysius to hand over that amount to the twins' agent or servant. It has no date, but must come between the 17th and 25th of the month.

The papyrus measures 13 inches by 16½. The writing of the first document is irregular, and shows several mistakes; that of the second (δ) is neat, but in a cursive and difficult style; that of the third (c) is neat and clear. They are here printed in chronological order.

- (a) Απολ . . .
 του προκειμενο[ν ν]πομνηματος επιδεδομενον Σαραπι[ω]νι
 των διαδοχων και υποδιοικητη παρα Πτολεμαιου
 του προσεττηκτος των εν τω μεγαλω Σαραπιειω διδυμων
 5 περι του καθηκοντος αυταις εκ του βασιλικου κατ ενιαυτον
 ελαιου σησαμινου και κικιος εχωντος υπογραφην Μεννιδει
 επισκεψαμενον οσα καθηκει αποδουναι παρα δε σου τοις γραμ
 ματευσι επισκεψαμενους ανεγκειν και δια τουτου
 σημαινομενου επιδεδοσθαι εντευξιν τω βασιλει
 10 περι τουτων ταυτης μεν επιβαλοντες το αντιγραφον
 συν τω γεγονοτι προς αυτην χρηματισμωι προσηφμεν
 Δωριων δε ο ατιγραφευς μεταλαβον ανενηροχεν αντιγραφον
 ης πεποιηται επι του Σαραπιωνα αναφορας δι ης σημαινεται εις μεν
 το 5L απο φαμενωθ ου μηνος εγενετο το πενθος
 15 μεχρι του μεσορη δεδοσθαι τους επιβαλλοντη εξαμηνον ελαιου
 χ̄ και κικιος χ̄ τους δ εις το ηιL καθηκοντας ελαιου
 μ̄ α και κικιος μ̄ α επισταλεντος του καθηκοντος
 χρηματισμου και εκπεσοντων εις το ιθL μη προσεθηναι
 δια του εξειναιντους γενεσθαι τους δε εις το ιθL επισκοπουντες
 20 ευρισκομεν μη επεσταλμενους επι ουν γεγραφεν
 ο διοικητης τα ημιση των υποκειμενων εις τα ιερα διδοναι
 ο δε βασιλευς προς την επιδεδονην εντευξιν προστεταχεν

ει και προτερον ειληφαν και νυν δουναι και Σαραπιων δε
 ο υποδιοικητη επεσταλκεν ημιν δια του προκειμενου υπομνη
 25 ματος επισκεψαμενον οσα καθηκει αποδουναι αναφερομεν.
 [Lκ] αθρυ ιγ γραψε προεσται ακολουθως

(c) Μεννιδης Θεωνι χαιρειν της επιδοθεισης εντευξεως τωι βασιλει
 παρα Θανητος και Ταντος διδυμων των εν τωι μεγαλω Σαραπιειωι
 διδυμων απεσταλμενης δ[ε ε]π Ασκληπιαδην τον αρχεισωμα
 30 τοφυλακα και διοικ[η]την μετα του προσκατακεχωρισμενου
 χρηματισμου παρα δε τουτου αποδεδομενης Σαραπιωνι των δια
 δωχω και υποδιοικητη μεθ υπογραφης το αντιγραφον υποκειται επι ο μεταλα
 βων ταυτης Δωριων ο αντιγραφευς ανενηνοχεν επι Σαραπιωνα την προσ
 κατακεχρηματισμενην αναφοραν Πτολεμαιος ο προσεστηκο'ς των διδυμων
 35 επιδεδωκεν Σαραπιωνι περι τουτων το προσεντεταγμενον υπομνημα
 ο και απεσταλται εφ ημας εχων υπογραφην Μεννιδει επεισκεψαμενον
 οσα καθηκει αποδουναι Δημητριωι Σωσω Κρητει των προτερον Ευμηλου
 τωι συνεσταμενωι υπ αυτων δια της εντευξεως ωστε αυταις προ αυ
 τον καθηκοντα εις το ιθL ελαιου σησαμινου με α κικιος με α / με β
 40 και εις το ιθL ελαιου σησαμινου με α κικιος με α / με β
 κικιος / με β ανθ ων ελαιου σησαμινου με α τους δε παντας
 ελαιου σησαμινου με γ και συνβολα ποιησαι ως καθηκει
 υπεγραψας Σαραπιω[ν] ο υποδιοικητη Lκ αθρυ ιζ
 πως ενεδεκετωι εν τω[ι] ιηL τα του ιθL λαβειν
 45 ζητωι Lκ τυβι ιζ.

(δ) Θεων Διονυσιωι χαιρειν μετρησον μετα της των ειθισμενων
 γνωμης κατα τον παρα Μεννιδου του επιμελητου χρηματισμον.
 Δημητριωι Σωσου Κρητι των προτερον
 Ευμηλου τωι συνεστα[μεν]ωι υπο των διδυμων δι ης επι
 50 δεδωκαν εντευξεως τωι βασιλει ωστε αυταις τον καθηκοντα
 [εις] το [ιη]L ελαιου σησαμινου με α κικιος Ε α
 σησαμινου
 [και εις το ι]θL με α [κικ]ιος με α τους δε παντας ελαιου σησαμινου

(Column 2.)

κικιος Ε β / σησαμινου Ε β
 και κικιος Ε β ανθ ων ελαιου σησαμινου
 55 με α και συνβολα ποιησαι προς υπο
 λαμβανοντας / Ε γ
 Θεων προα . . εκολου ε σ Ε γ
 / σ Ε γ

At the bottom of the first column (*i.e.* after line 52) there are a few words in a rough hand, much torn and mutilated, apparently a continuation of the document, the words being the same as those which begin the second column.

Line 1. F. gives *Ἀπολ[λ]ωνιος*, but there is no trace of the last part of the word in the papyrus as it is at present.

Line 4. The first six words are almost obliterated.

Line 6. See Pap. xx., the document referred to.

Line 9. The last word is very indistinct. There is an obliteration at the beginning of the line, apparently a miswriting of *σημανομενον*.

Line 10. *ἐπιβαλοντες*: probably should be *ἐπιλαβοντες*.

Line 12. See Paris Pap. 25 for this report of Dorion.

Line 14. *το σλ* = *sc.* the sixth year of Euergetes = 165-4 B.C.; *cf.* Pap. xxii., *Introd.*, and l. 13. *φαιμενωθ*: 7th month. *το πειθος*: the mourning for Apis; see Paris Pap. 22, l. 24.

Line 16. *χ*: *i.e.* *χόας*. *το ηλ*: a not uncommon inversion for *ηλ* = the 18th year of Philometor, 164-3 B.C.

Line 17. *μ*: *i.e.* *μετρητήν*.

Line 19. *ἐξειναντους*: F. writes this as two words, apparently taking *ἐξειν* as = *ἐξείναι*. But in Paris Pap. 25, l. 12, which treats of the same facts, there are the words *ἐξειναντον γενεσθαι*; and it seems to mean that the payments had dropped out of their proper year, and so had fallen through.

Line 21. *ο διοικητης*: Asclepiades; see l. 29. *υποκιμενων*: at first written *υποκιμενον*, the *ω* being written above. *διδοναι*: at first written *διδοσθαι*.

Line 23. *cf.* Leyden Pap. B, 3rd subscription, which is here quoted. There is a *κ* before *δουναί*, either by error, or for *εκδουναί*.

Line 24. F. omits the *ο* at the beginning of the line, but it seems to be present.

Line 26. There is a blot at the beginning of the line, which probably hides the date of the year, which is in any case certain from Pap. xvii. (*c*).

Line 28. *εν τωι μεγαλω*: in many instances in these papyri it is difficult to determine whether the *ι adscriptum* is meant to be written or not, but it is certainly omitted from the adjective here.

Line 29. *διδυμων*: repeated unnecessarily or by mistake.

Line 30. *αρχαιοσωματοφυλακα και διοικητην*: *i.e.* commander of the body-guard and governor of Memphis. It is not quite clear what his relation would be to the *στρατηγός* of Memphis, of whom we also hear.

Line 32. *υπογραφη*: "docket," "subscription." *υποκειται*, "is enrolled."

Line 36. See Pap. xx., the document referred to, with the docket here quoted.

Line 37. *Σωσω*: a mistake for *Σωσον*; see l. 48.

Line 38. The last letters are obscure, and it is not clear what meaning is required; there is nothing corresponding in l. 50, the parallel passage.

Line 40. Before *μεβ* the words *ελαιου σησαμου* must be understood.

Line 43. This line appears to be in a different hand; the meaning of the docket is not quite clear.

Line 44. In a third hand; a query by Sarapion, the meaning of which is not clear, as there is nothing in the document to suggest the absurdity referred to. See Pap. xix. l. 8, where Mennides answers it.

Line 46. *ειδισμενων*: the final *ν* is very doubtful.

Line 47. *των . . . χρηματισμων*: the document (*c*) above.

Line 48. F. reads *κρηται*.

Line 51. *Ϝ*: the symbol for *μετρητης*.

Line 52. F. omits the *λ*, but it is clear; he also reads *σησ[αμνου]* *Ϝ β* at the end of the line, but there seems to be no trace of the latter symbols.

Line 53. The sign */* is the usual indication of "total."

Line 54. *ανθ ων, κ.τ.λ.*: *i.e.* an additional *μετρητης* of *sesamé oil* was to be substituted for the two of *κικι*, so that the whole amount to be paid over was three *μετρηται* of *sesamé oil*.

Line 55. *συμβολα*: tallies, by way of receipt.

Line 57. *ι.ε. ελαιου σησαμου μετρηται γ*. The preceding word is obscure and mutilated, but is perhaps intended to be the same as the phrase in l. 26, *προσεται ακολουθως*.

PAPYRUS XXI. [FORSHALL V.]—162 B.C.

THIS document is not dated, but it must be later than Pap. XVII. (*a*), dated Athur 13th, to which it refers, and earlier than Pap. XXXI., dated Athur 25th, on which day part of the arrears of oil was paid to the twins' representative. Ptolemy evidently did not know that orders were being given, immediately after the favourable report of the clerks, for the payment of the oil due; and he was anxious to hasten the movements of the officials concerned. Accordingly he here makes petition to Sarapion on behalf of the twins, recalling the previous favourable decisions of the king and Sarapion himself, and the report of the clerks who were commissioned to inquire into the question, and complaining that Mennides still interposes obstacles. He therefore begs Sarapion to order Mennides to proceed with the matter.

The papyrus measures 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, and it is written neatly, clearly, and accurately, though in one or two places there are holes or obliterations.

- Σαρα[πι]ωνι των διαδοχων και υποδιοικητη
 παρα Πτολ[ε]μαιου των [ε]ν κατοχη οντων
 εν τωι μεγαλωι Σαραπειωι ετος τουτο ενδεκατον
 του ιθL μεσορη αναβαντι σοι και επιθυσαντι απεδωκα
 5 την παρα του βασιλεως κεχρηματισμενην των
 διδυμων υπερ του καθηκοντος αυταις ελαιου και κικιος
 εντευξιν και ηξιωσα σε οπως αποδ[ο]θη αυταις κ[α]τ[α]
 χρονων οφειλετ αυταις και επηγγειλω μοι διο και
 συνεστησα σοι τον ποριζοντα μοι την τροφην
 10 νεωτερον μου αδελφον πραγματευσομενον ταυτα
 συ δε ων προς το θειον οσιως διακειμενος και ου βουλο
 μενος παραβηναι τι των εν τωι ιερωι επηγγελμενων
 απεστειλας χρηματισας Μεννιδει εχον υπογραφην
 επισκεψαμενον τα καθηκ[οντα] αποδουναι εφ οις γινοιτο σοι
 15 μη μονον εφ οις ει μενειν αλλα και επι μειζονα προαγειν
 του δε Μεννιδου[ν] υπογεγραφοτος τοις γραμματευσιν επι
 σκεψαμενους ανεγκειν [και το]υτων ανενηνοχοτων
 καθηκειν διδοσθαι οσα και ημεις προεφερομεθα
 ο Μεννιδης παλιν φησιν επι σε δειν ανενεχθηναι
 20 αξιω ονν σε μετα δεησεως νομισαντα ταις διδυμαις
 ιδιαι σε ταυτα διδοναι και εμβλεψαντα οτι ος μοι
 επιριξε τα δεοντα αποσπ[ασθ]εις απο του μεσορη μηνος
 περι ταυτων ου δυνατ εκκ[ο]μισασθαι συνταξιν
 επιστρεψ[αι ε]τερον τωι Μεννιδει χρηματισαι το τε ελαιον
 25 και το κικι ινα μη επι πλειον [κ]αταφθειρομενον του
 παιδαριου καμου ε[νδ]εους τοις δεουσιν οντος αναγ
 κασθη μηκετι προσκεισθαι τωι Μεννιδει και τας διδυμας
 μηθεν εχουσας των καθηκοντων το ιερο μεγα . . .
 σοι δε γινοιτο ευημερειν παρα τωι βασιλει τον απαντα
 30 χρονον ευτυχει

Line 2. Much obliterated, but intelligible by means of other occurrences of the phrase.

Line 3. From other documents it appears that the beginning of Ptolemy's seclusion coincided with the 9th year of Philometor; this therefore is the 20th year, = 162-1 B.C.

Line 5. This must be the petition contained in Paris Pap. 22; for the favourable docket to Leyden Pap. B is dated Thouth 6th of 162-1 B.C., and therefore could not have been shown to Sarapion in Mesoré of 163-2 B.C.

Line 7. αποδοθη: F. reads αποδ[ω]θη; but there is not room for an ω.

Line 10. See Pap. xx. 11.

Line 11. ων: nearly illegible; possibly ονν.

Line 14. See Pap. xx., which has this docket and that quoted in l. 16.

Line 18. See Pap. xvii. (a) for the report of the clerks, esp. l. 25.

Line 21. [ιδιαι] should be ιδιαις.

Line 23. συνταξιν: the regular word for allowances of food, etc., for the service of the temple. Cf. Pap. xxxv. ll. 11, 21; and Rosetta Stone, l. 14, τας δεδομενας εις αυτα [τα ιερα] κατ εναντων συνταξεις σιτικας τε και αργυρικας.

Line 24. επιστρεψαι: F. reads επιστρεψη, but the termination of the word is nearly obliterated; it is therefore best to supply something which is in accordance with the grammar of the sentence.

Line 25. ινα: the word is a little doubtful, being partly obliterated. επι πλειον: F. reads επιπλειον.

Line 27. μηκετι: apparently superfluous; the grammar of these lines is confused.

Line 28. The last two letters are doubtful. F. reads ιερων and ειω; the Palaeographical Society, ιερων and εν . . . ειω (?). Probably το ιερο[ν] μεγαλυνειν.

PAPYRUS XXVII. [FORSHALL VII.]—162 B.C.

THE course of events after the issue of the orders by Mennides, as contained in Pap. XVII., at first runs smoothly. Those orders were issued on Athur 17th, and on the 25th of that month we find payment being made to the representative of the twins, Demetrius, son of Sosus, of the two measures of sesamé oil due to them for the 18th and 19th years. The present short document is the final order for this payment. The writer is not named, but is perhaps Dionysius, the instructions for the purpose having descended in the official hierarchy as far as him in Pap. XVII. (δ). It is dated Athur 25th; and on the same day, as appears from the following papyrus, payment was made and a receipt given by the representative of the twins.

It should be noticed that Peyron misunderstands this document to refer to the two measures of *κίκι* oil, the delivery of which, or of the one measure of sesamé oil in commutation for it, was delayed for some time after the two measures of sesamé oil had been paid (*cf.* introduction to Pap. XXXI.). This, however, is solely due to his misinterpretation of the figures *κα*= in l. 6, as explained in the note on that line. No mention is made of *κίκι* in the document, which relates entirely to the sesamé oil for the 18th and 19th years.

The papyrus measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{8}$. It is written in a very cursive hand, full of abbreviations, and is intelligible chiefly by the assistance of Pap. XXXI., in which it is quoted.

ετους κ αθυρ κ̅ε
 Ε Κρατερωι χ̅ τωι πρ
 Δωριωνος τ̅ρ σρντες Χρυσιππου
 και Αρηου πρ Θαττηος και
 σηδ̅
 5 Θαντος ελαικης ιερων διδυμ
 Σαραπιειου ιθL κα=
 και ιηL κα= / F

Line 2. The sign ϵ usually = *μετρητής*, but here = *μέτρησον*.
 χ = *χειριστή*. πρ = *παρά*.

Line 3. τ̅ρ = *τραπεζίτου*. σρντες = *συνπαρόντες*, which should be *συνπαρόντων*.

Line 6. κα = : this does not stand for *κικιος* α (*i.e.* one *μετρητής*), as Peyron takes it (the two measures of *κίκι*, having been commuted for one of sesamé, would not be specified here), but for *κεράμια δύο*. The *κεράμιον* was a liquid measure equal to half a *μετρητής*, so that the two *κεράμια* assigned for each year are equivalent to the one *μετρητής* mentioned so often.

Line 7. After the sign / (= "total") there are some almost illegible characters, repeated in Pap. xxxi., which F. reads as *μεγF*. Peyron explains them as indicating the three *μετρηταί* (of sesamé oil) which was the sum total to be paid to the twins. But this leaves the last character unexplained, and there is no reason to find here anything except the total of the items mentioned in this document, viz. two *μετρηταί* or four *κεράμια*. Now F is the symbol for 4 (usually applied to obols), just as = is for 2. Hence we probably have here a symbol for *κεράμια*, followed by the number 4.

PAPYRUS XXXI. [FORSHALL VIII.]-162 B.C.

THE following is the receipt given by Demetrius, son of Sosus, the servant of the twins already named in Pap. XVII. (*b*) and (*c*), for the oil delivered in accordance with the preceding order (Pap. XXVII.), which is here recited. It is dated the same day, Athur 25th, 162 B.C.

The matter does not, however, close here. The two measures of sesamé oil had been paid, but the third measure of the same, for which the two measures of *κίκι* to which the twins were entitled were to be commuted, had not been paid, and the officials of the Serapeum made a difficulty about paying it. The later documents from which we learn the progress of the affair are Leyden Pap. C and Paris Pap. 31. The former is merely an acquittance given by Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου Μακε [presumably Μακεδονος αδελφος] to Demetrius, son of Sosus, for the two measures of sesamé oil which he had received on behalf of the twins. It is dated Athur 7th, but that is manifestly a mistake, as the order for payment was only made by Mennides on the 17th (Pap. XVII. (*c*)), and the payment itself, as we see in the present document, took place on the 25th. Probably the date of the Leyden papyrus should be the 27th instead of the 7th, which harmonises well with the other facts before us, and brings it, as is right, into close connection with the present papyrus. The Paris Pap. 31 is more important. It is a petition (undated) from Ptolemy to Mennides, mentioning the payment of the two measures of sesamé oil, but complaining that Dorion's clerks refuse to pay the additional one which was due in substitution for the two measures of *κίκι*. Probably that substitution was made the ground of the refusal, as being something novel and irregular. We have no documents which show how the matter terminated, but there can be little doubt that the twins obtained their dues; for, in less than a month from the payment of the two measures, we find Ptolemy writing to Sarapion to thank him for his services in connection with the allowances for the 18th and 19th years, and asking for his help again to obtain the twins' dues for the 20th year, but making no allusion to the outstanding measure of oil, as he would assuredly have done if it had not been paid. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the difficulty raised by Dorion's clerks was soon removed, and that the campaign on behalf of the twins' oil for the 18th and 19th years ended triumphantly soon after Athur 25th. There is a further allusion to the correspondence in a document of later date (Pap. XIX.), but it is merely retrospective and does not affect the course of events.

The papyrus measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches square. It is irregularly and rather faintly written, but is generally legible.

Λκ αθυρ κε ομολογει Δημητριος
 Σωσου Κρης μεμετρησθαι παρα Διονυσιου
 και Ασκληπιαδου των προς τη ελαικη υπερ
 των εν τωι μεγαλωι Σαπτιωι διδυμων ελαιου
 5 [σησα]μινου μετρητας δυο γινονται δυου

ετους κ αθρυρ κ̄ε μετρησον Κρατερων
 χειριστη τω παρα Δωριωνος του τρα
 πέζειτου συνπαροντες Χρυσιππου
 παρα
 και Αρηόν Ταυητος και Ταντος
 10 ελαικης ιερων σησαμινου διδυμων
 Σαραπιειου ετους ιθ κα= και ιηL
 κα= /με γf

Endorsed— συμβουλευ . . ην υπογραφήν

Line 1. This same person, Demetrius son of Sosus, is named by Ptolemy in Paris Pap. 35, l. 35, as the person whom he wishes to plead his cause before the king, in a case of a private injury which had been done to him; and in Leyden Pap. B he is stated to be an acquaintance (συνήθης) of Ptolemy, whom the latter had appointed to manage the affairs of the twins.

Line 5. δνου: F., δυω; but there is something more than that.

Line 6. Cf. notes on Pap. xxvii., the document here quoted. Κρατερων: so, apparently; it should be Κρατερω, which F. reads.

Line 7. χειριστη: "manager."

Line 13. The end of the first word is doubtful; F. reads συμβουλευμαι, but there is a long gap between the υ and μ (both of which are doubtful), and the two last letters are much more like ην than αι. Qu. συμβουλευτικην, if that can be taken to mean "of agreement."

PAPYRUS XIX. [FORSHALL X.].—161 B.C.

THE official correspondence on the subject of the oil continues after the payment of the arrears had been completed. The document Pap. XVII. (c) has a note appended to it by Sarapion, dated Tubi 17th, two months later than the body of the paper, inquiring how it could have been possible to receive the allowance due for the 19th year in the 18th. The object of the question is obscure, as the twins had received the allowances for neither year till the 20th year, and there is nothing in the document to which it is appended which explains it. The present document is a letter from Mennides to Sarapion in reference to his question; but it does not throw much light upon it. The writer simply quotes the question and then says that he has caused inquiry to be made, and has found that the allowances due for the 18th and 19th years have been paid in the 20th, according to the instructions of the king and Sarapion. The letter is dated Tubi 22nd.

The papyrus measures 6½ inches by 9. The writing is clear, but rather irregular.

Μεννιδης
 προς την προκειμενην αναφοραν επιδεδομενην δε παρα Δωριωνος
 του αντιγραφομενου τα κατα Μεμφειν περι του καθηκοντος
 ελαιου σησαμινου ταις εν τωι μεγαλωι Σαραπιειωι διδυμαις
 5 ανενεγκατων των παρα σου γραμματεων εν μεν τωι ιθL
 μηθεν κεχρηματισθαι εν δε τωι Lκ αθυρ προνοεισθαι εις το ιηL
 και ιθL τους καθηκοντας ελαιου σησαμινου με β και παρεπιγε
 γραφοτος σου πως ενεδεχετο εν τωι ιηL τα του ιθL λαβειν ζητωι
 μεταδεδοται ημιν εχουσα υπογραφήν Μεννιδει επισκεψαμενον
 10 ανενεγκειν επισκοπουντες ουν ευρισκομεν κεχρηματισμενους

αυται[ς] εν τωι κL κατα υπο σου επισταλεντα εκ της επιδοθισης
 εντευξεως τωι βασιλει εις το ιηL και ιθL τους ανενεγεχθεντου
 υπο Δωριωνος του αντιγραφews καθηκει ελαιου σησαμινου με β̄
 Lκ τυβι κβ. υπεγραψε Σαραπιωνι των διδοχων και υποδιοικητη

15

ωστε τους παρ ημων γραμματις
 μη γνωσκειν τα εν τοις λογοις αναφερομενα
 ει μη Μεννιδει διασησαι προσαγαγειν ουν
 τους γραψατας την αναφοραν γραμματις

Endorsed— Σαραπιωνι επιστολην.

Line 8. See Pap. xvii. (c), 44.

Line 11. κατα: should be κατα τα.

Line 13. καθηκει: probably should be καθηκειν.

Line 15. The end of the line is blotted. These four lines (15-18)
 are a note by Sarapion, as appears from Pap. xxxiii. 12, *seq.*;

not, therefore, by the same hand as the preceding line. *ωστε* is
 apparently used in a semi-final sense. It cannot mean, as
 M. Brunet de Presle takes it (in his introduction to Paris Pap.
 33), that the body of the letter was so written as to be illegible,
 as it is quite as well written as most.

PAPYRUS XXXIV. [FORSHALL IX.]—161 B.C.

THE twins had now received their allowances of oil for the 18th and 19th years, and Ptolemy might have been expected to take some rest from his constant petitioning. Instead of doing so, however, he appears to have begun at once to be alarmed about the due payment of the allowances for the current year (the 20th), and a new series of documents commences. The final payment of oil for the 18th and 19th years was made on Athur 25th; less than a month afterwards, he is writing to Sarapion, who was about to leave the neighbourhood (whether temporarily or finally does not appear), thanking him for his past assistance and entreating his good offices to secure the payment of the oil for the 20th year. Two copies of this petition remain, one at Leyden (Pap. D) and one at Paris (Pap. 30). Neither is dated in itself, but the former has dockets dated Choiach 23rd and 28th, the latter Choiach 26th and 29th. In these the question is referred to the *ἀντιγραφεύς* Dorion, who accordingly makes a report, of which the original is preserved as a separate document attached by a papyrus thread to Leyden Pap. D, while a copy is given in ll. 5-11 of our present papyrus. The report simply quotes from the official records the amount of oil due annually to the twins, and is dated Choiach 29th. Our next document is the papyrus before us, which is a copy (presumably by Ptolemy or his brother) of a series of official papers and dockets referring to the subject. It consists of (1) a minute by Ptolemy (apparently not the son of Glaucias, but an official), dated Tubi 6th, enclosing (2) Dorion's report, alluded to above, here dated (but evidently wrongly) Choiach 24th, and with two additional lines, stating that nothing has been paid for the 20th year; (3) docket, Tubi 7th, requiring report as to what they have received in the 19th year; (4) docket, Tubi 9th, referring this question to Areus; (5) report by Areus that they had received nothing in the 19th year, but that the amount due had been paid in Athur of the 20th

year. All are written in the same hand (except, perhaps, the first word); and it is evident that this is not an original document, but a copy.

The papyrus measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{8}$. The writing is very clear and plain.

Πτολεμαῖος
μεταλαβὼν Δωριῶν
ο ἀντιγραφεὺς ἀνεηνοχεν
καθὼς υποκειται Lκ τυβὶ 5
5 Δωριῶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῶν
εἰς τὰ ἱερά υποκειται
διδόσθαι διδυμαῖς ταῖς ἐν
τῷ μεγαλῷ Σαρπίειω
τιμῆς τῆς υποκειμένης
10 ἐλαίου σησαμίνου ᾧ
ᾗ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ μετρητῆς α
εἰς δὲ τὸ κL οὐθεν κεχρη
ματίζεται Lκ χοιᾶχ κδ

ἐν δὲ τῷ ιθL τι εἰληφασιν
15 ἀνεσκεύων Lκ τυβὶ ζ

Ἀρηῷ ἐν τι εἰληφασιν
ἐν τῷ ιθL ἀνεσκεύων
Lκ τυβὶ θ Ἀρης
ἐν μὲν τῷ ιθL οὐθεν
20 κεχρηματίζεται ἐν δὲ
τῷ Lκ ἀθρὺ ἐξηνηκ
μῆναι τὸ θηκὸν τοῦ ιη
καὶ ιθL ἐλαίου με β̄

Line 5. *Δωριῶν*: not the subject of *υποκειται*, but standing by itself as the writer's name, as *Πτολεμαῖος* above. This report is given in Leyden Pap. D, where it is a separate appendage to a petition from Ptolemy to Sarapion for help to secure the payment of the oil due for the 20th year. It ends with l. 11, and is dated Choiach 29th. Hence apparently ll. 12, 13 are an addition or comment, and the date here appended must be a mistake of the copyist.

Line 10. ᾧ: *i.e.* one *χόος* a month, which = 1 *μετρητής* (about 9 gallons) a year.

Line 11. α: this letter is rather enlarged by what may be either a blot or a flourish.

Line 14. First docket.

Line 16. Second docket.

Line 18. *Ἀρης*: *cf.* note on l. 5; the report of Areus begins here.

Line 22. *θηκὸν*: probably for *καθηκὸν*, as F. suggests.

PAPYRUS XXXIII. [FORSHALL XI.]-161 B.C.

THE petition contained in Leyden Pap. D evidently failed of its purpose, as in the present document we find the twins again petitioning Sarapion in earnest terms for his assistance towards obtaining for them their allowance for the 20th year, while apologising for having to trouble him so often on the same subject. No date is given, but this appeal may safely be assigned to about the middle of the year 162-1 B.C. It is certainly later than Tubi 9th, the last date given in Pap. XXXIV., and earlier than Paris Pap. 29, which belongs to the end of the year or the beginning of the next. This is the last of the papyri in the British Museum bearing on the oil question. The story is, however, carried a little further down by Paris Pap. 29, which shows that the twins had not obtained their dues by the close of the 20th year; and in this unsatisfactory condition our information leaves them.

The Paris Pap. 33 is another version of the present petition, but extremely mutilated, especially in the earlier part. It is, however, useful in elucidating some doubtful passages.

The papyrus measures 13 inches by 10½. It has been much torn before being used, and the writing is rough and irregular, with many mistakes. According to M. Brunet de Presle, the Paris copy is written in a much neater fashion. This therefore was only a rough draft of the petition.

- (a) Σαραπιωνι των διαδοχων και υποδιοικ[ητη]
 παρα Θαντος και Θανητος διδυμων των
 λειτουργουσων εν τωι προς Μεμφει μεγαλωι
 Σαραπειωι κατα πολλους τροπους αντι
 5 λημμενου σου δι ην εχεις εις το θ[ειον]
 ευσεβειαν και τα μεν ημων εληφοτων
 εις την γνωμενην ημιν συνταξειν τα δ ετι δι
 α την των υποτεταγμενων παρελκομενων
 ανενηνεγμενης δε σοι και αναφοράς
 10 υπο Μεννιδου του επιμελητου
 υπερ του καθηκοντος ημιν ελαιου σησαμινου
 εις κL προς την παρεπιγεγραφοτος σου
 ουτως ωστε του παρ ημων μη γνωσκειν τα ανα
 φερομενα τα εν τοις λογοις αναφερομενα
 15 ει μη Μεννιδι διασαφησαι
 προσαγαγειν ουν τους γραψαντας
 την αναφοράν γραμματις τοιαυτης ουσης
 και του παρ ημων διαποστελλομενου
 παιδαριου Απολλωνιου του `και' συνεσταμενου σοι
 20 υφ ημων εν τωι ιερωι οντος

- απραγματεντου και την περι τουτων
 οικονομιαν ου δυναμενου εισηλγαγειν
 υπομνησαντα σε ευκαιρως ουθεν δ ετερον
 περιγνωμενου ημιν δια την των
 25 γραμματεων Γ παρα
 στραγιας πλην του καταφθειρεσθαι
 ο Δημητριον ειναι
 λειτουργιαν τοιαυτην παρεχωμενας
 χρονοτριβεισθαι αξιωμεν σε
 30 ετι και νυν κεφαλαιον
 επιθειναι ταις καθ ημας
 καθ ου τροπον σοι υποπιπτει
 να μη περι των αυτων σε
 παρενοχλωμεν
 35 ευτυχει.

Line 2. Θαντος: originally written Θαντος, but an η has been inserted, partly made up of the stroke of the following τ. Also an additional letter, apparently ο, has been written over the α, so that the name would run Θαουτος. διδυμων: the υ is written over an ι, the writer having apparently repeated the first syllable by mistake.

Line 4. There is an erasure at the end of this line and the beginning of the next, due to miswritings of the word αντιλημμενου.

Line 6. F. reads ειληφωτων, but there is no trace of the ι. The word was at first written εληφωτα, the writer being for the moment misled by the τα which precedes.

Line 8. If παρελκομενων be passive, τα δε should be τω-δε, and a substantive (meaning "ill-will" or "delay") must be supplied with which την agrees. If it be middle (for which there is no classical authority in this sense), δια την must be expunged, the writer having begun by intending to express the delay by a substantive, and changed his mind while writing. The Paris copy confirms τα δε, but is defective as regards the rest.

Line 12. προς την, κ.τ.λ.: cf. Pap. xix. 15, seq., which is the document and docket referred to. την: so, apparently, though F. suggests ην, the letters being badly formed. Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, 1886, pt. 2) suggests αυτα, but it seems hardly possible.

Line 13. του: a blunder for τους. The first τα αναφερομενα should have been cancelled.

Line 16. προσαγαγειν: οτ προσαγαγειν, as F. reads; but it looks as if the scribe had begun a ν, then cancelled the first stroke of it and written a γ; προσαγαγειν is the reading in the original referred to (Pap. xix. 17). γραψαντας: γραψοντας written first, but another stroke inserted to make a sort of ν.

Line 18. The letters ελλ are written over an erasure.

Line 19. Απολλωνιον: the younger brother of Ptolemy; cf. xx. 11, xxi. 9, etc. του: a σ has been written above this word, probably through the writer, on revising his letter, mistaking the first letter of σοι for a part of the word συνεσταμενου, and therefore thinking that του should be τους.

Line 21. απραγματεντου: "inexperienced" seems the natural sense, and is quite sufficiently supported by analogies from cognate words. It is not necessary to render it "unemployed," which M. Brunet de Presle apparently thinks the proper meaning. The classical uses are (1) "unmanageable" (Diodorus), (2) "with little commerce" (Polybius). The word was at first written απραγματεντος.

Line 22. εισηλγαγειν: Paris Pap. εισ.να . . . ν, which points clearly to εισαναγαγειν as the right reading.

Line 24. την: this must be altered to της, or else the substantive in l. 26 must be put in the accusative.

Line 25. The next four lines are certainly corrupt. The first word of l. 26 is doubtful; the Paris Pap. has, according to M. Brunet's belief, στρ[. . .]ς (without παρα), though the ρ is doubtful; he suggests στρατηγιας, "manœuvres," but prefers εναγιν, an unknown word formed from εναγης = "wickedness." F. reads στιαγιας; Peyron emends παρασελγιας. The Paris text continues πλην του παρα[φθειρεσθαι]; and Brunet's suggestion that the παρα in our text is intended as a correction of κατα in καταφθειρεσθαι is probable, and the mark which precedes it is probably meant to indicate this. Then στραγιας may well be a form of στραγγεγιας, a word found in Marcus Aurelius, meaning "delay," "loitering."

Line 27. ο Δημητριον ειναι: the Paris Pap. has . . . η μετριον ε[ιναι], so the probable reading is ο δη μη μετριον ειναι.

Line 28. παρεχωμενας: Paris Pap. παρακατεχομενας.

Line 31. ταις: F. τοις, "or perhaps rather ταις."

(δ.) In the margin of the papyrus, written in the reverse direction, is the beginning of a rough copy of a letter from Apollonius to Hippalus and others; but it does not go far enough to tell us the subject of it.

Απολλωνιος

Ιππαλωι

και Σαραπιωνι
 και Βερενικη
 5 και Πυρρωι
 και τοις εν οικο
 πασαι χαιρειν
 και τα αλλα σοι
 κατα λογον εσται
 10 καλως ουν [πο]ησις

Line 2. The Paris Pap. 39, l. 7, mentions a Hippalus who was brother to Ptolemy and Apollonius. The reading of M. Brunet de Presle is *ιππαλον και . . . απολλωνιον*; but M. E. Revillout states that the real reading is *ιππαλον σαραπιωνα*

απολλωνιον (*Revue Egypt.*, iv. pt. 1, p. 68). The present passage bears out that reading, the Sarapion here mentioned being clearly the brother in question.

Line 6. *τοις*: the *τ* is written over a second *ι*.

PAPYRUS XXVI. [FORSHALL XVI.]—162-1 B.C.

A FRAGMENT of a document referring to the twins and their oil, but with no complete sense sufficient to make it possible to refer it to any particular date of context.

The papyrus measures 4 inches by 2. The writing is clear and legible.

την εντευξιν
 την Δωριωνος ανα
 τα υπομνηματα
 τα Σαραπιωνι
 5 τα δυο
 Απολλωνιου
 του παρα Μεννιδου
 γραμματεως
 αναφοραν
 10 τον προς Διονυσιον
 υπερ του ελαιου

Two lines are washed out below.

Line 7. *Μεννιδου*: it must be observed that the title *γραμματεως* does not apply to *Μεννιδου*, but to *Απολλωνιου*, who is presumably the person whose name occurs in Pap. xvii. (a) l. 1, as writer of that document.

Line 9. The first two letters are doubtful; the *ν* is certainly written as an *η*.

Line 10. *Διονυσιον*: written over an obliteration of the name *Θεωνα*. This Dionysius is presumably the same as the one to whom Pap. xvii. (b) is addressed.

PAPYRUS XVIII. [FORSHALL XIV.]—161 B.C.

THIS document opens the second class of the papyri relating to the Serapeum. This class, consisting of three large documents, is still occupied with the wrongs of the twins, but the particular subject is the arrears of grain due to them, instead of those of oil. In addition to the allowance of oil, of which enough has already been said, the twins had the right to an allowance of eight artabas of ὄλυρα (dhoora) a month, which was equivalent, as appears from l. 25 of this papyrus, to eight loaves a day. This, like the oil, fell into arrears during the 18th, 19th, and 20th years of Philometor (164–162 B.C.); but the twins and their champion Ptolemy do not seem to have begun to take steps for its restitution till some time after their petitions for the oil were rewarded with success. At any rate, we have no papers referring to the subject till a date later (probably some months later) than the 11th of Choiach, in 162–1 B.C. There is only one of the Paris Papyri (No. 27, of which Pap. 28 is another draft) which belongs to the same group, and it is not clear whether this is earlier or later than those in the British Museum. In the Vatican there are two documents on the subject—C and D—of which C is apparently later than those in the present collection, D probably earlier. The Leyden collection contributes only one papyrus (Pap. E), which is the same document as the Paris Pap. 27, but a much less correct version of it, though containing four additional lines.

The papyrus before us is a statement on behalf of the twins of the amount of grain which they have received during the 18th, 19th, and a part of the 20th years, and of the arrears still due to them. It is not addressed to any person, but from the salutation at the end it is clear that it was intended to be so. It is possible that the beginning is lost, or else it was intended to be enclosed with other papers. So many of the months of the Egyptian year are mentioned, that it will be useful to give the list of their order in the calendar. There were twelve months of thirty days each, with five additional days at the end to make up the necessary total, and their order was as follows: Thouth, Phaophi, Athur, Choiach, Tubi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmouthi, Pachon, Pauni, Epiph, Mesore. The 1st of Thouth corresponds to the 30th of August.

The papyrus measures 13 inches by 6½. The writing is rather rough and irregular, but is quite legible.

- (α) Λιθ θωνθ ἃ ε[ω]ς μεχειρ ῥ̄ ἀπεχουσι ἀπο
 ἧ του μεχειρ εως μεσορη λ̄ και τας επαγομενας ημε
 ρας ε̄ ουκ ιληφασι γινονται ᾠ̄κατα μηνᾶ ὀλυρων αρταβας ἧ
 γινονται ολυρων αρταβας ὧς̄ ετους Λιθ θωνθ ἃ
 5 ἧως μεχειρ λ̄ ἀπεχουσι ἀπο φαμενωθ ἃ εως παχων
 λ̄ ουκ ιληφασ[ι] ἀλλ̄ η το ημυσυ παννι ἃ εως λ̄ ουκ ι
 ληφασι ἀλλ̄ η λ̄ ζευγη εφειφ̄ ἃ εως μεσορη λ̄

- ουκ ιληφασι αλλ η το ημυσυ και ταις επαγομεναις
 ε ουκ ιληφασι απο φαμενωθ $\bar{\alpha}$ εως παχων $\bar{\lambda}$
 10 γινονται της τριμηνου ολυρων $\kappa\delta$ τουτων
 απεχουσι το ημυσυ λοιπαι $\bar{\iota}\beta$ παυνη $\bar{\alpha}$ εως
 $\bar{\lambda}$ γινονται αρταβας η τουτων απεχουσι αρταβας $\bar{\beta}$
 λοιπαι $\bar{\epsilon}$ εφειφ $\bar{\alpha}$ εως μεσορη $\bar{\lambda}$ γινονται ολυρων
 αρταβαι $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ και τας επαγομενας ημερας $\bar{\epsilon}$
 15 ουκ ιληφασι γινονται ολυρων αρταβας $\bar{\alpha}$ δ' $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$
 / ολυρων αρταβας $\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$ δ' $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$ του ετους ηι
 το οφιλημα των αρτων εκ του Σαραπειου
 / ολυρων αρταβας $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ του ετους $\bar{\lambda}\iota\theta$ το οφιλημα
 γινονται ολυρων αρταβας $\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$ δ' $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$ γινονται
 20 του $\bar{\lambda}[\iota\eta]$ και του $\bar{\lambda}\iota\theta$ το οφιλημα των αρτων
 εκ του Σαραπειου ους' λαμβανουσι καθ ημεραν
 ολυρων ϵ $\theta\beta$ $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$
 απο της αναγωγης του Οσοραπιος παχων $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$
 εως του $\bar{\lambda}\iota\theta$ μεσορη $\bar{\lambda}$ και τας επαγομενας
 25 ημερας $\bar{\epsilon}$ του δε ενεστοτος $\kappa\bar{\lambda}$. θωνθ $\bar{\alpha}$
 εως χοιαχ $\bar{\iota}$ ουκ ιληφασι αλλ η αρτους $\bar{\epsilon}$
 την ημεραν λοιπαι $\bar{\beta}$ γινονται κατα μηνα
 ολυρων αρταβας $\bar{\beta}$ γινονται ολυρων αρταβας
 η $\sigma\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\zeta}$ απο χοιαχ $\bar{\iota}\alpha$ εως της σημερον ημερας
 30 ουκ ιληφασι εαν λαβωσι τους αρτους εκ πλη
 ρους καθως αι προτεραι διδυμαι ελαμβανεσαν
 και 'καθως' αιται ειληφασι το πενθικατο ε Μεμφει
 / ολυρων κατα μηνα αρταβας $\bar{\iota}\beta$
 εαν αντιλεγωσι χειρογραφησατοσαν
 35 τον βασιλεια

εντυχει

Line 2. τας επαγομενας ημερας $\bar{\epsilon}$: the five additional days above mentioned.

Line 3. ιληφασι: so spelt throughout this paper, with one exception, and in several others.

Line 4. γινονται: i.e. the total deficit for the 18th year is 56 artabas, at 8 artabas a month for seven months (accurately, 6 months and 28 days).

Line 7. $\bar{\lambda}$ ζηνγη: 30 pairs of loaves, i.e. a quarter of the amount due; cf. l. 12.

Line 8. In l. 14 *seq.*, the calculation is made on the ground that none of the allowance for these three months was received; so either the calculation is wrong, or the words αλλ η το ημυσυ should be omitted. In Pap. xxxv. l. 13, where a summary of this account is given, it is said that from Mecheir to Mesore one-half was received.

Line 10. τριμηνον: used as substantive, as in Herodotus, ii. 124.

Line 15. $\bar{\alpha}$ δ' $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$: the allowance for five extra days would be

$1\frac{1}{2}$ artabas; Peyron, therefore, assumes that there were 6 *χοίνικες* to the artaba, or that $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$ would = $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, ignoring the δ (an irregularly shaped one). But it is certain that there were more than 6 *χοίνικες* to the artaba, the real quantity being 30 or 36 (cf. Revillout, *Rev. Egypt.* ii. 157). Probably, therefore, the δ stands for $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\beta}$ for two additional *χοίνικες*, the total of which would be nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba.

Line 16. ηι for η, as elsewhere.

Line 22. These words had been omitted, and are inserted between the lines. The arithmetic is wrong. The arrears for the 18th year have been stated at 56 artabas, and those for the 19th at 35 $\frac{1}{2}$; therefore the total should be 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 92 artabas 2 choenices.

Line 23. απο της αναγωγης του Οσοραπιος: Peyron points out that the twins entered the Serapeum at the time of the mourning for the death of an Apis, in Phamenoth, 165-4; a new Apis was evidently installed on Pachon 16th of that year, and from that date the payment of bread and oil for the service of the god would

become due. Therefore that date is named as the beginning of the whole period over which the twins' claim extended.

Line 29. $\eta \sigma \chi \theta \zeta$: Peyron emends $\tau \chi \theta \delta$, = $6\frac{2}{3}$ artabas, the amount of arrears due for $3\frac{1}{2}$ months at 2 artabas a month; but this is inadmissible, owing to his mistake as to the value of the $\chi \theta \iota \nu \zeta$. The figures as they stand may be read $8\frac{1}{2}$ artabas 7 choenices; but the number of artabas at least must be wrong.

Line 30. Or $\epsilon \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \rho \upsilon \varsigma$, in one word, as F.; but such a word is without authority, and in Louvre Pap. 26, l. 8, it is certainly two words.

Line 32. $\alpha \iota \tau \alpha \iota$: for $\alpha \upsilon \tau \alpha \iota$. The writer was probably misled

by the analogy of the $\alpha \iota$ in the preceding line, which he repeated mechanically. The following words are corrupt, but the meaning must clearly be, "during the mourning (for Apis) in Memphis."

Line 33. The sign at the beginning of the line is that which usually denotes a total, and the sense apparently is, "if the twins receive what their predecessors received, and what they themselves received at first, the total would be 12 artabas a month," that total being made up of the 8 artabas due to them from the Serapeum, and the 4 due from the Asclepeum (cf. Pap. xli. 2, and note). $\mu \eta \nu \alpha$: the second letter was at first written ϵ .

On the reverse of the papyrus, and written across the length of the sheet, there is a rough version of the beginning of the account, with a heading which is not in the full copy. It is written very irregularly.

(δ) Λη των διδυμων λογος των αρτων απεχουσι απο θωνθ α εως μεχειρ ζ
[α]πο η του μεχειρ εως μεσορη λ ουκ και τας επαγομενας ημερας ε ουκ ιληφασι
ολυρων αρταβας η τους μηνas / αρταβας νς Λιθ θωνθ α εως μεχειρ λ
απεχουσι απο φαμενωθ α εως μεσορη λ και τας επαγομενας ημερας ε
5 ουκ ιληφασι αλλ η το ημυσυ παννι ζευγη λ . . . τας επαγο
μενας ημερας ε ουκ ιληφασι [ολυρ]ων αρταβας λε δ' χο β
του Λη και Λιθ

Line 2. The scribe began to write ουκ ιληφασι after μεσορη λ , forgetting the additional days; and the ουκ has not been erased.

Line 7. F. reads this line— τον Λη θωνθ ε ; the writing is very

indistinct, but the reading here given seems certainly to be correct, and agrees with the corresponding passage in l. 20 on the other side.

PAPYRUS XXXV. [FORSHALL XIII.]—161 B.C.

THE following is a petition addressed by Ptolemy to Sarapion on behalf of the twins, with respect to their arrears of bread. It is based on the computation given in the preceding document, which it summarises, and emphasises the distressed condition of the twins. No date is given, but from the computation of arrears due in l. 26 it appears to have been written close to the end of the year 162-1. A rough copy of the same petition is found at the back of Papyrus XXIV., on the face of which is a document on another subject, bearing date in 164 B.C.

The papyrus measures 13 inches by 7. There are several small lacunæ in it, especially near the commencement of the lines. The writing (which is perhaps the same as that of Pap. XVIII.) is fair, but not elegant, and not very correct.

Σα[ρ]απιωνι των διαδοχων και υποδιοικητη
παρα Πτολεμαιου Μακεδονος του οντος εν κατο
[Χη] εν τωι προς Μεμφιν με[γ]αλωι Σαραπειωι
ετη [ηδ]η ια μνηστητι επεδοκα σοι την παρα

- 5 [τον βα]σιλεως δια της ἑθιδος ἐ[σφρα]γισμενην περι των
 δ[ιδυ]μων και ειπας μοι ἐ[νοπ]ι του Σαραπι επιδη
 [εν κα]τοχη ει τις ουν περι τα[υ]τα εσται συνεστησα
 σοι [Α]πολλωνιον τον νεοτ[ε]ρον μου αδελφον
 ουθENA εχω μεν βοιηθον αλλ η σε και τον Σαραπιν
 10 α[ι δ]ιδυμαι αδικουνται υπο των προεστηκοτων
 [τη]ς συνταξεως του ιερου του ηιL απο χειρ
 ε[ως] μεσορη και τας επαγομενας ημερα ε̄ ουκ ι
 ληφασιν του θιL απο χειρ εως μεσορη
 [λ] και τας επαγομενας ημερας ε̄ ουκ ιληφασιν
 15 [αλλ] η το ημυσυ των κυλ[λη]στηων τ[ο]ν εν[ε]στ[ω]
 τος κL απο μεσορη λ̄ εως χοιαχ θ̄ ουκ ιληφασι
 [αλλ η τ]ο ημυσυ απο χοιαχ ῑ εως της σημερον ημε
 [ρας] ουκ ιληφασι ψομον πολουσι αυτων την
 [ολ]υραν της αρταβης ιτ αι δε διδυμαι
 20 τη λιμωι διδουονται ο δε βασιλεως αποδεδο
 [κε τ]ην συνταξιν διαρπαζεται δε υπο των προ
 [εστη]κοτων των ιερων αξιουμεν σε εαν σοι φαι
 νηται ανακαλεσαι Ψυνταην τον επιστατην
 [τω]ν ιερων και επαναγκασαι αποδουναι ημιν
 25 τας οφειλομενας του ηιL και του θιL
 ολυ[ρ]ας αρταβας ρξ̄
 ωμοιως δε και την γινομενην εκ του δηλουμενου
 [Ασκ]λειπειου απο του πενθους
 [ε]φελκυσμεν αρτου δ̄ σοι δε ο Σαραπις
 30 . . . δαποδω σι χαρε[ιν] και μορφην προς τον βασιλεα
 ευτυχει

Line 5. δια της ἑθιδος : these words are not in the copy. The *θηρίς* is the opening of a folded papyrus sheet, which would be sealed up to hold it all together and to hide the contents.

Line 9. εχω μεν : possibly one word, εχουμεν, for εχομεν, but more probably a corresponding δε should have been inserted before διδυμαι. It might, indeed, be supposed to be lost in the lacuna in the next line, but the evidence of the copy is against this supposition.

Line 11. συνταξεως : cf. Pap. xxi. 23. χειρ : the letters are rather huddled together.

Line 12. εως . . . ε̄ : not in the copy.

Line 15. κυλληστηων : the classical form is κυλληστιων ; Herodotus uses it of bread made from δλυρα (ii. 77).

Line 16. μεσορη λ̄ : or α, as F. reads, the two letters being often indistinguishable in the papyri ; but in the copy (Pap. xxiv. vers.) it is θωνθ α : and as μεσορη λ̄ is the last day of the preceding year, it comes to much the same thing ; but μεσορη ᾱ of the 19th year could hardly be reckoned in the 20th year, and that month has, moreover, already been included in the reckoning for its own year.

Line 19. After ολυραν the copy reads δια την τιμοραν του σιτου εκ τριακοντα μων την αρταβην ιτ. Three hundred drachmas was a high price for an artaba of δλυρα, the same amount of

wheat rarely rising as high, though occasionally reaching 330 drachmas (cf. *Rev. Egypt.* vol. ii. pp. 151, 169, note).

Lines 26-29. ολυρας . . . αρτου δ̄ : not in the copy. It is not certain how the 160 artabas are to be made up, as the accounts of the arrears in Pap. xviii. and here differ in details. Taking the former, as the most full, we find the arrears for the 18th and 19th years amount to 91½ artabas, and those from Thouth 1st to Choiach 10th of the 20th year to 6½, total 98. The remaining 62 would be made up in 7½ months, i.e. about the end of Epiph, which gives us the approximate date of the present document. The first two letters of ωμοιως have been written at the end of l. 26, but were afterwards obliterated.

Line 27. την γινομενην : the writer had meant to put συνταξιν or ολυραν, but alters the construction of his sentence in the middle and substitutes αρτου (written αρτον) δ̄, which was the amount of the allowance from the Asclepeum.

Line 28. Ασκληπειου : the twins' allowance of bread from the Asclepeum is mentioned in Pap. xli. and Paris Pap. 27. The word εφελκυσμεν had been begun at the end of this line, but the part written is struck out, except the first two letters.

Line 30. . . . δαποδω σι : probably for ανταποδωι ; in the copy διδοι σοι.

The following is the copy referred to.

PAPYRUS XXIV., Verso [FORSHALL XV.].

- Σαραπιωνι των διαδοχων και υποδιοικητη
 παρα Πτολεμαιου Μακεδωνος του οντος εν τοχη
 εν τωι προς Μεμφιν μεγαλωι Σαραπειωι ετη ηδη
 ενδεκατον μνηστητι επεδοκα σοι την παρα του βασι
 5 λεως εσφραγισμενην περι των διδυμων και ειπας
 μοι ενοπι του Σαραπι επιδη εν κατοχη ει τις ουν
 περι ταυτα εσται συνεστησα σοι Απολλωνιον
 τον νεοτερον μου αδελφον ουθENA εχω μεν βοιηθον
 10 αλλ η σε και τον Σαραπιν αι διδυμαι αιδικουνται υπο των
 προεστηκοτων της συνταξεως του ιερου του ηΙL
 απο μεχειρ ουκ ιληφασιν του Λιθ απο μεχειρ εως μεσορη λ
 και τας επαγομενας ημερας ε ουκ ιληφασιν αλλ η το ημυσυ
 των κυληστηγων του ενεστωστος κL απο
 θωνθ ā εως χοιαχ θ ουκ ιληφασι
 15 αλλ η το ημυσυ απο χοιαχ ι εως της σημερον ημερας
 ουκ ιληφασι ψομον πολουσι αυτων την ολυραν
 δια την τιμιοραν του σιτου εκ τρικοντα μων
 την αρταβην ι τ αι δε διδυμαι τη λιμωι
 διαλυνονται ο βασιλευς αποδεδοκεν την συντα
 20 συνταξιν διαρπασζεται υπο των προεστηκοτων
 των ιερων αξιουνμεν σε εαν σοι φαινηται ανακαλε
 σαι τον επιστατην των ιερων τον επιστατην
 των ιερων Ψινταην και επαναγκασαι
 αποδουναι ημιν τας οφιλομενας

(Column 2.)

- 25 του ηΙL και του ιθL σοι δε ο Σαραπισ
 διδοι σοι χαρειν και μορφην προς τον
 βασιλεα
 Σαραπιωνι των διαδοχων και υποδιοικητη
 παπαρα Πτολεμαιος Μακεδωνος ει

Line 2. εν τοχη : an obvious slip for κατοχη.

Line 5. διδυμων : an ι was at first written in place of the υ, the writer repeating the first syllable of the word by mistake.

Line 9. αλλ η : F. writes αλλη, as elsewhere, and appears to take it as a form of ἀλλά. It seems much more likely that it is ἄλλο η, "other than," "besides."

Line 10. συνταξεως : the writer at first omitted the υ, but discovered his mistake after writing συντα, and wrote the υ over the τα, repeating these two latter letters after it.

Line 13. κυληστηγων : the reading is not clear ; in the other copy it is κυλληστηγων.

Line 15. ημυσυ : perhaps written ημυσι.

Line 19. αποδεδοκεν : at first written αποδεδοχεν. συντα : repeated in the next line by mistake.

Line 22. των . . . ιερων : repeated by mistake.

Line 23. ημιν appears to have been written at the end of the line, and then obliterated.

Line 25. The substantive with which τας οφιλομενας agrees (ολυρων αρταβας) is omitted, as also the further petition about the bread from the Asclepeum. ιη : at first written ιθ, but corrected.

Lines 28 and 29. In a different hand.

Line 29. F. reads the last letter as a υ ; it is much more like the beginning of a π, i.e. επιστολη.

PAPYRUS XLI. [FORSHALL XII.]-161 B.C.

AT the end of Papyrus XXXV. (p. 25, l. 27) a reference was made to a claim which the twins had on an allowance of bread from the Asclepeum, which is also mentioned in the Paris Papyri 26 and 27, and in the Vatican Papyri C and D. The present document deals entirely with this subject, and sets forth at length the grievances of the twins. It appears that the previous pair of twins had held an office in connection with the Asclepeum (the shrine of Æsculapius, which stood in the precincts of the Serapeum), involving the duty of offering certain libations to Æsculapius. In reference to this it should be noted that Serapis is more than once identified by the ancients with Æsculapius, and that both had certain attributes in common, Serapis being held to have special powers of healing sicknesses, and being even consulted frequently in the same method as Æsculapius, namely by means of dreams (Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 59; Tac. *Hist.* iv. 84). Peyron goes so far as to hold that Serapis and Æsculapius were officially identified by the Ptolemies; but except the present document there is little evidence to support this, and if it were the case we should hardly find so many alternative identifications of Serapis in the ancient writers. But the existence of common attributes in the two deities was recognised by a certain community of worship, such as is proved by the share taken by the twins of the Serapeum in the worship of Æsculapius. In return for their services they had a right to a stated allowance of either three or four loaves a day (see l. 2 below).

The same office had been transferred to the twins Thauas and Thaus when they entered the Serapeum at the time of the mourning for the Apis who died in 165 B.C.; but they appear to have neglected to offer the necessary libations. At any rate, the guardian of the bull Apis, to whom a similar allowance of bread had been made, put in a claim to receive the twins' allowance as well, on the ground that they had omitted their duties and that he had performed them in addition to his own. The truth of his plea does not seem to have been disputed, and the petition was granted. After this, however, the situation appears to have been reversed; for the twins now claim to be doing both his work and their own, and accordingly request to be reinstated in their allowance. The date is not given definitely either here or in the Paris Papyrus; but it seems tolerably certain that the document belongs to the first half of 161 B.C., towards the end of the 20th year of Philometor.

The papyrus measures 12½ inches by 7½. It is written in a clumsy and irregular hand, with many errors in spelling, but fairly legible. There are a few lacunæ caused by worm-holes.

το γυν[ο]μέν[ο]ν ταῖς διδυμαῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπείου
 ἀρτοὺς πεπτοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν γ' ἀπο τοῦ πενθος
 ἕως τῆς σημερον ἡμερας οὐκ ἠληφασιν λαβε
 την κ[ρι]σιν ἣν ἐποίησαν ταῖς προτεραις διδυμαῖς
 5 ο Ἀσκληπιος ἐχει λιθewα σπονδηα ἀνω ἐν τῷ
 Σαρ[α]πιεῖω ἐθος ἐστὶ σπενδεῖν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ

- καθ' ἡμεραν καὶ ὁ βυκολὸς τοῦ Ὄσοραπι τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 ἀρτοὺς λαμβάνει γίνεται αὐταῖς μὴ λειτουργεῖν
 μὴδὲ σπενδεῖν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὁ δὲ βυκολὸς
 10 ἐλθὼν κ[α]τήγορησεν αὐτὰς λέγων ἐπὶ οὖν
 ο[υ] λιτουργοῦσιν οὐδὲ σπενδουσιν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ
 ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν σπενδῶ ἀξίῳ οὖν ὑμᾶς
 ἀφελὼν α[υ]τῶν τοὺς ἀρτοὺς καὶ μοι δοῦναι ὅτι ἐγὼ
 περὶ αὐτῶν λιτουργῶ ἐγενετο ἡ κρίσις οὕτω
 15 ἀφίλεσαν τοὺς αὐτῶν διδυμῶν ἀρτοὺς καὶ τῷ
 βυκολῷ ἐδόθη ἐπὶ οὐ αὐταὶ νοῦν λιτουργοῦσιν
 περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ βυκολοῦ ὁ δὲ βυκολὸς ἀφεί-
 τῃν αὐτοῦ λιτουργίαν ἀπέληλθε εὐγνωμῶν
 [οὖν] ἐστὶ ἀφελὼν [ἀπο τοῦ] βυκολοῦ καὶ δοῦναι ταῖς
 20 διδ[υ]μα[ι]ς εἰάν δὲ ἀντιλεγῶν περὶ τούτων
 ἀνακαλεσάμενος τοὺς γραμματεῖς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 καὶ χειρογρά[φ]ησατώσαν τον βασιλεία εὐτυχί

There are three lines of obliterated writing below, probably an official docket.

In the lower corner there are a few words in small semi-cursive character :

το λοιπον του Λιη < με <
 του δε Λιθ α κβ < δ
 25 απ. .

Line 2. γ : in Pap. xxxv. 29, and Paris Pap. 27, l. 21, the number given is four.

Line 6. The shrine of Æsculapius was within the precincts of the Serapeum, so that the libations performed by the twins are said to be offered in the Serapeum.

Line 7. τοῦ Ὄσοραπι : *i.e.* of the bull Apis, which was supposed to be the incarnation of Osiris.

Line 8. ἀρτοὺς : at first written αὐτοὺς, but corrected.

Line 9. βυκολός : the ν is written partly over the ο. The same appears to be the case in l. 17.

Line 11. οὐδε : an ι appears to be inserted after the δ, possibly from some idea that the word was intended to be δισπενδον.

Line 16. ἐπὶ, κ.τ.λ. : for ἐπεὶ οὖν αὐταὶ νυν.

Line 18. εὐγνωμῶν should be εὐγνωμον.

Line 20. ἀντιλεγῶν : so, apparently, for ἀντιλεγασιν.

Line 22. χειρογραφήσατώσαν : *cf.* Pap. xviii. 33.

Line 24. Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, 1886, pt. 2) supplies the gap with ἀναλωμα, which is possible, but far from certain.

VERSO.

Written across the length of the reverse of the sheet is a rough copy of a petition, addressed by the twins to Sarapion, in reference to the claim for bread ; but it is unfinished and contains nothing that can fix the date very definitely, beyond a mention of a petition to which the king had given a favourable response, which is probably the same as that referred to in Pap. XXXV. 5. The writing is very thin and fine, but rather irregular.

Σαραπιωνι των διαδ[οχ]ων καὶ υποδιοικητι παρα Θαναητος καὶ Θαν[ος] διδυμων των
 λιτουργουσων εν τῷ προς
 Μεμφιν μεγαλει Σαραπειῳ του βασιλειως καὶ της βασί[λισ]ης ἀφ' ἧς ἐπεδωκαμεν αυτοις
 εντευξεως προστεταχῶ
 των τα καθηκοντα ἡμιν αποδιδοςθαι καθ' ἣν ἐποίησαντο σοι υπογραφῆν ουθεν καὶ σου καθ'
 ἣν εχεις προγονικῆν

αιρεσιν προς το θηον ευσηβειαν εν τη τουτων συν'εργειαι επιταθεντος και μονον μεν
 αποδομενων ημιν
 5 οφιλομενη της καθηκυης ολυρας

Lower down in the middle of the sheet, apparently in the same hand :

και προς τον τουπητυπ . . .

In a larger and rougher hand :

ετους ιη
 του επταμηνου
 ολυρων < νη

And across the sheet, running into the first inscription, in the same rough hand :

10 του ετους
 ηι ολυρων

Inverting the sheet, and also written across it :

ιθ
 . .
 ολυρων
 15 < μζ <
 το παν
 απε

Line 1. F. reads *Θαυτηρος*; the letters are confused, but there are too many strokes for *τη*.

Line 2. An erasure at the end of the line, apparently a mis-writing of the following letters, which were then cancelled and written again at the beginning of the next line.

Line 4. *θηον* : so written, for *θειον*. *ευσηβειαν* : F. *ευσεβειαν*, but the *η* is clear.

Line 5. *ολυρας* : the λ written at first as a ν.

Line 11. *ολυρων* : so apparently; not *ολυρας*, as F.

Line 13. The letters here faintly traceable may be *ιη*.

PAPYRUS XLII. [FORSHALL XVIII.]—172 B.C.

THERE still remain some documents relating to the Serapeum, though not to the affairs of the twins. The one which follows is the earliest in date of the whole collection, and throws some interesting light incidentally on the position of the persons described as *ἐν κατοχῇ* in the Serapeum. It is a letter from a woman named Isias to her husband (apparently) Hephæstion. It appears that the latter had been in some considerable danger, and had been forced to fly from his home, and had taken refuge in the Serapeum, where he was now *ἐν κατοχῇ*. For some time his relations had evidently been ignorant of what had befallen him; but on his writing to inform them that he had become one of

the recluses of the Serapeum, his wife and brother both wrote to protest vigorously against his deserting his family and to entreat him to return. In l. 26 of the present letter mention is made of his having been "released from his seclusion"; from which it would appear that (probably as a condition of his entering the Serapeum) he had bound himself not to leave it, at any rate for a certain time; and from this vow he had apparently been released.

The letter from the brother of Hephæstion, whose name was Dionysius, alluded to above, is contained in Vat. Pap. A. The greater part of it is almost identical in terms with the present document, though the brother is able to say stronger things about Hephæstion's duty of considering his wife than she could rightly say. The date of both letters is Epiph 30th in the 9th year, presumably of Ptolemy Philometor, *i.e.* the middle of 172 B.C.

The papyrus measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$. The writing is regular, with wide intervals between the lines, and generally clear; but there are several small lacunæ, which it is not always easy to fill up.

- Ισias Ηφαιστιωνι τωι αδελφω[ι]
 ει ερρωμενωι ταλλα κατα λογον
 απανται ειηι αν ως τοις θεοις ευχο
 μενη διατελω και αυτη δ υγιαινον
 5 και το παιδιον και οι εν οικωι παντες
 σου διαπαντος μνείαν ποιουνμενοι
 κομισαμενη την παρα σου επιστολην
 παρ Ωρου εν ηι διεσαφεις ειναι
 εν κατοχηι εν τωι Σαραπειωι τωι
 10 εν Μεμφει επι μεν τωι ερρωσθα[ι]σε
 ευθως τοις θεοις ευχαριστουν
 επι δε τωι μη παραγινεσθαι σε [παντω]ν
 των εκει απειλημμενων παραγε[νομεν]ω[ν]
 αηδιζομαι ε[νε]κα του εκ του το[ιου]του
 15 καιρου εμαντη[ν] τε και το παιδι[ον] σου
 διακεκυβερνηκια και εις παν τι
 εληλυθνια δια την του σιτου τιμην
 και δο[κο]υσα ν[υ]γ [γ]ε σου παραγενόμενου
 τευξεσθαι τινος αναψυχης σε δε
 20 μηδεν τεθυμησθαι του παραγενεσθαι
 μηδ ενβεβλοφεναι εις την ημετεραν περι
 `στασιν` ως ετ[ι] σου παρ[ον]τος παντων επεδεομεθα
 μη οτι γε τοσoutου χρονου επιγεγονotos
 και τοιoutων καιρων `και` μηθεν σου απεσταλκοτος
 25 ετι δε και Ωρου του την επιστολην παρακεκο
 μικο[το]ς απηγγελκοτος υπερ του απολελυσθαι σε

30 εκ της κατοχης παντελως ηγδιζομαι
 θυμην αλλ επει και η μητηρ σου τυγχανει
 βαρεως εχουσα κα[λω]ς ποιησεις και δια ταυτην
 και δι ημας παραχ[εν]ομενος εις την πολιν ειπερ μη
 αναγκαιοτερον σ[ε] περισπαι χαριε δε και του
 σωματος επιμε[λο]μενος ιν υγιανηις
 ερρωσο Λθ επειφ λ

Endorsed—Ηφαιστιωνι.

Line 1. *τοι αδελφαι*: the tone of the letter, with the references to τὸ παιδίον, sounds more like a wife than a sister; still, it might be the writing of a sister who was also the guardian of the child, except that in Vat. Pap. A, l. 19, Dionysius reminds Hephæstion that persons who have escaped great dangers, as he has, always hasten to see τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τοὺς φίλους. Letronne is quoted by Peyron as proving that the Ptolemies called their wives ἀδελφαί even when they were not actually so; and Peyron thinks that it may have been a common term of endearment. But that point cannot be considered to be established by this letter. Dionysius's statement just mentioned may be a general one, and apart from that it would be sufficient to suppose that Hephæstion's wife was dead, and that his sister was mistress of his house and guardian of his child.

Line 8. *ειναι*: in Vat. Pap. A it runs διασεσσωθαί εκ μεγαλων κινδυνων και ειναι. Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, 1886, pt. 2) gives γεγονεναι as the reading here. That seems to have been the original reading, but the first five letters have been obliterated, and an ι quite clearly inserted.

Line 12. [παντων]ν: in Vat. Pap. A the corresponding words are καθαπερ και Κωνων και οι αλλοι απειλημμενοι παντες. There is of course not room for all this here, nor even for μετα των αλλων, which Peyron conjectures. παντων is probably the right word, reading παραγενομενων in next line. The letters after παρα there are uncertain, and might be a π or μ, as well as γε. Wessely (*μὲν δι συμρ.*) makes the same conjecture.

Line 14. *εκ του το[ιου]του*: F. reads εκ το[ιου]του, but probably only by a slip, as the του is clear. The reading, however, might

be εκ τουτο[υ] του, supposing the missing υ to have been written in a rather straggling manner.

Line 16. The Vat. Pap. A has του παιδιου σου εις τα εσχατα εηλυθοτος διασεσσωκια αυτον εκ παντος τροπου.

Line 18. *νυ γε*: so in Vat. Pap. A, νυ γε ιδουσα σε. Wessely had proposed [νυν γε].

Line 21. *μηδ ενβεβλοφεναι*: F. *μηδεν ολοφειν*, which he thought might be for *δλοφύρεσθαι*, *δλοφύζειν*. Peyron suggested *μηδεν δε ολου φρονειν*. *μηδεν βεβλοφεναι* is Wessely's conjecture, taking it to be an otherwise unknown 2nd perfect of βλέπω. It suits the characters in the original, and seems correct; but an awkward asyndeton is avoided by reading *μηδ ενβεβλοφεναι*, as given in the text. *ενβ* for *εμβ* is fully justified in these papyri.

Line 22. *επεδεομεθα*: the last three letters are quite doubtful, being much huddled; F. gives *επεδεομεν*.

Line 26. *αποελυσθαι σε*: F. reads *αποεληθοτος*, noting the last four letters as doubtful. Peyron conjectured *αποελυσθαι* (without seeing the original), which, with the addition of *σε*, is clearly the real reading, though the letters are somewhat huddled together. From this phrase, as well as from that of Ptolemy (Pap. xlv. 18), it is evident that the recluses of the Serapeum were under some vow or promise confining them to its precincts; but this vow would appear to have been of various degrees of stringency; cf. note on Pap. xxiv. 22.

Line 31. *χαριε*: i.e. *χαριε*.

Line 32. *επιμε[λο]μενος*: F., *επιτ . . . μενος*. Vat. Pap. A, l. 22, proves the reading beyond doubt. W. prints *επι-μελο]μενος*, though the *με* is quite visible, and omits the last ι in *υγιανηις*.

PAPYRUS XXIV. [FORSHALL XV.]—163 B.C.

THE following document comes next in order of time to the one just given, and is likewise concerned with the Serapeum and its recluses. It is a petition addressed to Dionysius, strategus of Memphis, by Harmais, a recluse and mendicant at the Serapeum, for redress of a fraud of which he had been the victim. According to his story, there was a girl named Tathemis, also connected with the Serapeum, who earned money by what she could beg from house to house. From these earnings she had collected savings to the amount of 1300 drachms, which she placed in the charge of Harmais, to be kept for her. The mother of Tathemis, however, named Nephoris, came to him, and represented that her

daughter was now of the age at which the ceremony of circumcision was usual, at which time the girl was considered as entering the period of womanhood, and had to be provided with suitable dress and a dowry in view of the possibility of marriage. Accordingly she persuaded Harmais to hand over to her her daughter's deposit, promising to repay it with addition if the ceremony did not take place very shortly. This, however, she had failed to do, and on the other hand Tathemis demanded the restitution of her money from Harmais. In this strait, the unfortunate recluse complains that he cannot with safety quit his cell and enter the town, and begs the strategus to help him to recover the money from Nephoris. The date is in the year 164-3 B.C., apparently after the month of Mecheir, *i.e.* early in 163.

The papyrus measures 16 inches by 8½. It has several lacunæ in the middle portion, but is otherwise in good condition. The writing is large and clear, and the ink unusually black.

On the reverse is a rough copy of the document contained in Pap. XXXV., which has been given in connection with that papyrus.

- Διονυσίω των φίλων και στρατηγῶι
 παρα Αρμαίος των εν τῶι μεγάλῳ Σαραπειῶι
 οντων εν κατοχῇ ετος πεμπτον διαζωντα
 δε και αφ ὧν ἐπαιτῶ εν τῶι ἱερῶι ἀδικουμαι υπο
 5 Νεφοριτος των απο Μεμφεως του γαρ ταυτης
 θυγ[α]τριου Ταθημιος συνδιατριβοντος εν τῶι
 ἱερῶι διαιτωμενον δε και εξ ὧν ἐλογενεν
 δια δοματων συναγαγουσης δε αὐτης < ἂτ
 και δουσης μοι αυτας παραθηκην μετα δε τινα
 10 χρονον της Νεφοριτος παραλογισαμενης με
 και προενεγκαμε[ν]ης την Ταθημιν ὡραν
 εχειν ὡς εθος εστι τοις Αἰγυπτίοις περι
 τεμνεσθαι αξιωσα[σ]ης τ ἐμε δουναι αὐτην
 τας ἂτ ἐφ ὧι τουτ[ο] ἐπιτελεσασα ἱματιει αὐτην
 15 και . . . ε . . . ωται αὐτην ἀνδρι φερ[ν]ειν εαν δε
 μη π[οι]ῇ εκ[α]στον [του]των [ῆ] και μη περιτεμη
 την Ταθημ[ι]ν εν τῶ μεχειρ μηνι του ιηΛ
 αποτεισει [μο]ι παρα[χ]ρημα ≤ βν ἐφ οἷς συγχωρη
 σαντος μου και δοντο[ς] αὐτη εν τῶι θουθ μηνι
 20 τας ἂτ < οὐδεν των διωμολογημενων πεποιηκεν
 δι ἣν αἰτιαν περισπωμενος υπο της Ταθημιος
 και απαιτουμενος τας ἂτ συμβαινει μη δυνασθαι
 καταβηναι εις Μεμφιν προς αναγκαίας χρειας
 αξιω ουν σε μη ὑπεριδεν με περισπωμενον
 25 μισοποινηρησαι τε και ἐφ οἷς διαπεπρακται
 ἐπι παραλογισμῶι εα[ν] σοι φαίνεται συνταξαι

ανακαλεσασθαι αυτην [ε]πι σε καν ηι οια γραφω
 επαναγκασαι παραχρημα τα δικαια μοι ποησαι
 οπως και αυτος τη Ταθ[η]μει αποδους μη περισπωμαι
 30 τουτου δε γενομενου τευξομαι βοηθειας
 ευτυχει

Line 1. This magistrate is also mentioned in Pap. xxiv. 1, xxxi. 2, xlv. 1, Vatican Pap. B 1, and Paris Pap. 22, l. 31; 26, l. 40; 29, l. 19; 38, l. 18, which show that he must have held his office at least from 164 to 160 B.C.

Line 2. A Harmais is mentioned in Paris Pap. 35 among the inmates of the Serapeum in 163 B.C., and in one or two other places.

Line 3. διαζωντα should be διαζωντος.

Line 5. Nephoris is also the name of a woman of whom the twins complain in their first petition to the king (Paris Pap. 22). She was their father's wife, but not apparently their own mother; but there is nothing to prove that this is the same person.

Line 6. διατριβοντος: or διατρίαβοντος, as F.

Line 7. F. reads διατωμενων: in that case the second ω is partially lost in a lacuna.

Line 8. *I.e.* 1,300 drachmæ; there is another character below the sign < (= drachma), but it is not clear what it is. Peyron renders, "1 talent and 300 drachmæ," but gives no reason in support of such an interpretation; and, as he takes βν in l. 18 as meaning 2,400 dr., there is no reason why he should adopt a different explanation for the figures here. Moreover, the plural article τας ατ in l. 14 is fatal to it.

Line 12. περιμενεσθαι: Strabo (xvii. 2, § 5) and St. Ambrose (*de Patr. Abra.* ii. 11) mention this practice as customary for both sexes in Egypt. The latter gives the age at which it was usually performed as 14, and the references to dress and dowry in ll. 15, 16, here, show that it marked the time of the girl's coming of age.

Lines 15, 16. Wessely reads εαν δε κλιπη επι τουται; but it seems certainly wrong. There is some letter between τουτων and και, but F. takes no notice of it.

Line 18. There is again some other character as well as the <. < βν = 2,400 drachmæ.

Line 20. The < is doubtful, looking rather like v.

Line 22. It appears from this that, under ordinary circumstances, Harmais would have been able to leave the Serapeum and enter the town, whereas Ptolemy, who was also εν κατοχη, apparently was forbidden by his vow to do so (Pap. xlv. 18).

Line 24. Apparently the scribe began to write περιδειν, but changed his mind and inserted a v above the line.

Line 26. One strip of the papyrus has been folded over another in the process of mounting, which accounts for the missing letters in this and the following lines.

PAPYRUS XLIV.—161 B.C.

IN the two following papyri we return to Ptolemy the son of Glaucias, who, when not writing petitions for other people, appears occasionally to have had a little business to do on his own account. The first of the two contains the narrative of an event not mentioned in any other of the papyri from the Serapeum, though a similar occurrence is recorded in the Vatican Papyrus B (the text of which has been published by Letronne and Brunet de Presle as No. 36 of the Paris Papyri, though no original of it exists at Paris). That papyrus contains the complaint of Ptolemy concerning an outrage which had been committed on him, on the 11th of Phaophi in the 19th year (163 B.C.), by certain of the attendants in the Serapeum whom he names, who disliked him because he was a Greek. In that petition he states that this was not the first attack which they had made upon him; and it was evidently not the last, for the present document is a petition for protection and redress for a similar assault made two years later, on the 8th of Phaophi in the 21st year (161 B.C.), coupled with some robbery of the property of the temple. There is no document extant which records the sequel of this affair; but the Paris Papyrus 40 and 41 contain complaints by Apollonius, the brother of Ptolemy, of similar assaults on him in the year 156 B.C.

A translation of the present papyrus by M. Lumbroso is quoted by M. Eugène

Revillout, in the *Revue Egyptologique*, vol. v. pt. 2, p. 52; and Dr. K. Wessely has published the text in *Wiener Studien* for 1886, pt. 2.

The papyrus measures 13 inches by 8, and is in an admirable state of preservation. The writing is clear, regular, well-formed, and correct; and it is in every way one of the best specimens of the whole Serapeum series. There is a wide margin at the top and left-hand side, but the writing is a little crowded at the bottom of the sheet.

- Διονυσίωι των φίλων και στρατηγῶι
 παρα Πτολεμαίου του Γλαυκίου Μακεδόνος
 των οντων εν κατοχῇ εν τῶι εν Μεμφεὶ μεγάλῳ
 Σαραπίωι ετος δωδεκατον ἡδικημενος ου με
 5 τριῶς και τῶι ζῆν πλειονακίς κενδυνευκῶς υπο
 των υπογεγραμμενων εκ του ιερου καλλυντων επι σε
 την καταφυγὴν ποιουμαι νομιζων μαλίσθ ουτῶς τευ
 ξεσθαι των δικαίων του γαρ καλ φῶφι ἢ παρα
 γενομενων επι το εν τῶι ιερῶι Ασταρτιεῖον εν ωι
 10 τυγχάνω εν τῇ κατοχῇ γεγονῶς τα προκειμενα
 ἐτη και τινων μεν εχοντων μετα χερα λίθους
 ἐτερων δε και ραβδους και ἐπιχειρουντων εἰσβια
 σασθαι ὡς δια παρενρσεως το τε ιερον σκυλῶσιν
 ἐμε τε παρα το Ἑλληνα εἶναι καθάπερ οἱ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
 15 ἐπιβαλλομενοὶ του ζῆν ἀνελειν και την μεν
 θυραν του ιερου προφθασαντος μου και κλεισαντος
 μετα κραυγῆς τε διαστελλομενου μεθ ἡσυχίας ἀνα
 λειν οὐδ ὡς ἀπεχωρουν Διφίλον δε τινα των
 παρακατεχομενων υπο του Σαραπίος θεραπειτων
 20 ἀγανακτουντα ἐφ οἷς διετελουντο εν τοιούτῳ ιερῶι
 ἀνῶσαι τε και ου μετριῶς σκυλαὶ υβριζοντας
 και τυπτοντας ὥστ αν την παράνομον βίαν
 ἀπασι εὐδῆλον κατασταθῆναι οἱ δ αυτοὶ και του ἰθλ
 φῶφι τα ὁμοία εἰς με διαπραξαμενοὶ ἐνετυχον σοι
 25 παρ αυτον τον καιρον ὑπερ ὡν παρα το μη εχειν
 τον την ἐντυχίαν ποιησομενον συνβῆναι
 ἀνεπιπληκτων αυτων οντων εἰς μείζονα κατα
 φρονησιν ελθειν αξιω ουν σε εαν φαίνηται
 συνταξαὶ καταστήσῃ αυτοὺς ἐπὶ σε ὡς περι
 30 ἀπαντων τουτων τυχῶσι της προσηκουσης μισοπο
 νηρίας ευτυχει
 Μὲν ἱματιοπῶλης Ψοσναὺς ἀσιλλοφόρος
 Ἰμουθῆς ἀρτοκόπος Ἀρεμβασινὺς σιτοκαπηλός
 Στοτοῆτις σακκοφόρος και ἄλλοι μετα τουτων ὡν τα ὄνο
 35 ματα ἀγνοῶ

Line 1. *Διωνυσίαι*: cf. note on l. 1 of the preceding papyrus (xliv.).

Line 9. Ptolemy mentions the Astarteum as his place of seclusion also in Paris Pap. 35-37. It must have been a chapel attached to the Serapeum, like the Asclepeum mentioned in others of these papyri.

Line 13. *δια παρειρσεως*: "by a pretence," or possibly "by surprise."

Line 19. This expression would seem naturally to mean, "possessed by Serapis"; and "possession" has been suggested as the meaning of the phrase Ptolemy so often uses of himself, *ἐν κατοχῇ*. But it certainly is not correct in the latter case, and probably is not so in the present; it may simply mean, "kept in his service by."

Line 21. Lumbroso's translation is incorrect, as he makes the object of *ἀνώσαι καὶ σκύλαι* to be Diphilus.

Line 23. *καὶ του ἰθλ*: cf. introductory note, and Vat. Pap. B. *οἱ . . . διαπραξαμένοι*: a nominative absolute.

Line 24. Wessely, *ομοα*; presumably a printer's error.

Line 25. The petition in question (Vat. Pap. B) is docketed with a favourable response, ordering justice to be done to Ptolemy; so this passage cannot mean that he could get no one to present the petition, but probably that he could get no one to carry it out.

Line 26. A flaw in the papyrus has destroyed half the letters of the middle of the line, but enough remains to make the restitution certain. Lumbroso's translation is obscure.

Line 32. *ἀσῶλλα* means a yoke to go across the shoulder to carry burdens, like a milkman's yoke.

Line 33. Arembasnis is mentioned in Paris Pap. 11, a petition by some other persons referring to similar outrages in the Serapeum in the year 157 B.C.

Line 34. *Στοτοητις*: not *Στοτοκτης*, as Lumbroso reads. Above the words *καὶ ἄλλοι, κ.τ.λ.*, have been faintly written the further names (abbreviated): *Ἀρχηβαί* (last two letters doubtful) *κλυστης* (last letter doubtful), *Ποκνομ* (or *Ποκνομ*) *ταπιδνφος*. An Archibius, *ἱατρός*, is coupled with Mys, *ἱματιοπώλης*, in Vat. Pap. B.

PAPYRUS XLV.—160-159 B.C.

THIS is another petition of Ptolemy, dated a year later than the preceding, and referring to a different matter. It must be compared with the Paris Papyri 38 and 39. It is a petition to the king, Ptolemy Philometor, for redress on account of damages and despoliation done to a house which had belonged to Glaucias, father of the petitioner, and which had descended to his sons. The house was situated in Psychin, a village in the nome of Heracleopolis; and the offenders were certain neighbours, whose names are mentioned. Taking advantage of the inability of Ptolemy to leave the Serapeum to attend to his own business, they had sacked the house, carrying off goods which Ptolemy assesses at the value of twenty talents, and had, moreover, appropriated the courtyard and site of the house to their own uses, and put up additional buildings of their own. The death of Glaucias, Ptolemy's father, occurred *ἐν τοῖς τῆς παραχῆς χρόνοις*, *i.e.* during the dissensions between Philometor and Euergetes, which terminated in 164 B.C. The date of the erection of the additional buildings by the aggressors is given in Paris Pap. 38 as the last month of 162-1 B.C., and the other injuries had apparently been committed earlier. As the present petition is dated the 13th year of Ptolemy's seclusion in the Serapeum, *i.e.* 160-159 B.C., it is clear that the injury was one of long standing, and it is only surprising that Ptolemy, who appears to have been so fond of writing petitions, had taken no notice of the affair before this time.

The Paris Pap. 38 is a revised draft of the same petition, and the first twenty lines are nearly identical. Apparently Ptolemy thought that he had not been sufficiently explicit as to the steps necessary to be taken for his redress; for whereas he expresses his wishes in quite general terms in the present document, in the Paris Papyrus he repeats his request for the twenty talents damages, and names his brother Apollonius as his representative, to

whom restitution should be made. The Paris Pap. 39 is another petition on the same subject, but it is less precise in its description of the injuries for which redress is claimed.

The present papyrus has been published by M. Eugène Revillout in *Rev. Egypt.*, vol. iv. pt. 1. p. 67, and by Dr. Wessely in *Wiener Studien* for 1886, pt. 2. Neither version of the text is quite free from errors, some of which must, however, undoubtedly be attributed to the printers.

The papyrus measures 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$. The writing is neat, regular, and correct, but rather faint in most parts.

- βασιλει Πτολεμαίω και βασιλ[ι]σση Κλεοπατραι
 τ[η]ι ἀδελφῇ θεοῖς Φιλομητορσι χαιρεῖν
 Πτολεμαῖος Γλαυκίου Μακεδῶν τῶν
 ἐν κατοχῇ οὐτῶν ἐτος το[υ]το
 5 τρεῖςκαίδεκατον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεμφεῖ
 μεγαλῷ Σαραπίειω ὑπαρχουσῇ μοι
 πατρικῆς οἰκίας περὶ κωμῇ Ψυχῶν τοῦ
 Ἡράκλειοπολιτοῦ καὶ ταύτης κατεσπασμένης
 καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς φορτίων διενηγεμένων
 10 οὐτῶν ἀξίων χαλκοῦ Ἄ κ ὑπο τῶν
 γεινιῶν τῶν μοι Ἑσπεροῦ καὶ Αἰαίου τοῦ
 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Πολεμῶνος
 οἱ δηλούμενοι οὐκ ἀρκεσθέντες ἐφ' οἷς ἦσαν
 διαπεπραγμένοι ἐτι καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν
 15 αὐλὴν καὶ τὸν τῆς οἰκίας τοποῖν ψιλὸν
 περιοικοδομήσαντες χρωθῶς ἰδιοῖς
 καταφρονούντες ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ δυνασθαι με
 ἐξελθόντα ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ παραγενομένου
 ἐπὶ τοὺς τοποὺς ποησασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 20 λόγον ἐπεὶ οὐν μέγιστε βασιλεῦ καὶ
 βασιλίσσα τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν διενηγεμένων
 φορτίων οὐ δυνόμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λόγον
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποησασθαι περὶ δὲ τοῦ περὶ
 ὠκοδομηκεν αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπο τοῦ πατρὸς μοι
 25 καταλειφθέντα καὶ χρηστῶι ἀν' προαιρῶνται
 τροπῷ δεομαι ὑμῶν ἀποστεῖλαι μου τὴν
 ἐντευξίν ἐπὶ Κυδῖαν τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ
 στρατηγὸν ὅπως ἀνακαλεσαμένος τοὺς
 προεῖρημένους διαστεῖλῃ ταῦτοῖς μηκετι
 30 εἰσβιάζεσθαι εἰς τοὺς προκειμένους τοποὺς
 παραδόναι δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ δὲ τῆς
 πεποιηται βίας διαλαβεῖν μισοπονηρῶς

ιν ω και αυτος μετειληφως της παρ υμων
εις τον βιον αντιληψεως

35

ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΤΕ

Line 7. The Paris Pap. 38 has only the termination -ιν legible.

Line 8. Letronne (whose transcript Brunet de Presle has followed, not being able to find the original) reads *κατεσκευασμενης* in Paris Pap. 38. There is no doubt as to the reading here, and possibly the Paris reading was not distinctly legible and has been mis-deciphered.

Line 9. των : Wessely, τον ; presumably a printer's error.

Line 10. χαλκον : not in the Paris version.

Line 11. Αταιον : Letronne has Αυλιον in the Paris Pap., but the reading here is clear.

Line 12. The Paris version has των αδελφων αυτου Πολεμωνος και Πασιος.

Line 16. After *περιοικοδομησαντες* the Paris version inserts *εν τω μεσορη μηνι του κλ.* *χρωνθ* : Paris Pap., *χρωται*. The elisions of diphthongs in this papyrus are noticeable: *cf.* *περιοικοδομηκεν*, l. 24; *χρησθ*, l. 25.

Line 19. *ποησασθαι* : not *ποιησασθαι*, as Revillout reads here and in l. 23.

Line 20. *επει* : from this point the Paris papyrus diverges, and the matter down to *τροπωαι* in l. 26 is represented by the single word *διο*.

Line 22. *δυνομαι* : apparently so ; but the letter ο is very faint.

Line 24. Revillout, *ωκοδομηκειν* ; but there is no trace of the ι.

Line 27. In the Paris papyrus the request is that the petition may be sent to Dionysius, the strategus at Memphis, that he may forward it to Cydias.

Line 28. *ανακαλεσαμενος* : not *ανακαλισταμενος*, as Revillout reads.

Line 29. *διαστελη* : not *διαστέλη* ; the ε is partly obliterated. *ταυτοις* : Wessely, *τουτοις* ; but the α is clear.

Line 30. *εισβιαζεσθαι* : Wessely, *εισβιασεσθαι* ; again, perhaps, a printer's error, as the ζ is clear.

Line 32. It is not clear whether the first word in this line is intended to be written *πεποινηται* or *πεποινηται* ; the ν is written over a τ, and another τ follows it. Wessely and Revillout read the latter. *μισοποιησας* : Revillout, *νν πονησας* ; but what looks like the last down-stroke of the ννν is really a rib of the papyrus.

PAPYRUS XXIII. [FORSHALL H.]—158-7 B.C.

THIS papyrus, though not dealing with the affairs of the twins of the Serapeum, and of a later date, is concerned with several persons with whose names we are familiar in connection with them. It includes a number of documents relating to one subject, the appointment of Apollonius, the younger brother of Ptolemy son of Glaucias, to a military post in Memphis, the object of which apparently was that he might be near his brother and in a position to protect his interests. The appointment was granted, but the completion of the transaction involved an enormous quantity of formalities, and the matter had to pass through the hands of a great number of officials, who are enumerated in the last paper of the series. The contents of the separate documents will be noticed in their turn. The date is in the first five months of 158-7 B.C.

The papyrus measures 4 feet 9½ inches in length, and 12 inches in height. It has been previously used, traces of demotic writing being visible beneath the Greek, while at the back of the first column there is an unobliterated demotic inscription. The writing is in one hand throughout, rather rough and irregular.

(a) The first document is a petition by Ptolemy to the king Ptolemy Philometor and his queen, asking that his brother Apollonius may be given a place in the company (*σημέα*) of Dexilaus, which was quartered at Memphis, receiving the usual allowance of a soldier in that company. A note at the beginning states that the petition was presented to the king and queen on Thouth 2nd of the 24th year (= 158 B.C.).

(Column 1.)

Λκδ θωνθ β̄
 επετοδοκα την εντευ
 ξιν τω βασιλει και
 τη βασιλισσι

(Column 2.)

- 5 βασιλει Πτολεμαιοι και βασιλισσι Κλεοπατραι τη αδελφη θεοις Φιλομητορσι χαιρεω
 Πτολεμαιος Γλαυκιου Μακεδων της επιγονης των εκ του Ηρακλεοπολιτου
 του προιρημενου μου πατρος Γλαυκιου οντος μεν των εν τω Ηρακλεο
 πολιτηι συγγενων κατοικων τουτου δε μεταλλαξαντος τον βιον
 εν τη τοις τῆς ταραχη χρονις και απολειποτος εμε τε και Απολλωνιον
 10 τον νεοτερον μου αδελφον συνβαντος δε γεγονεναι με εν κατοχη
 εν τωι προς Μεμφει μεγαλω Σαραπειωι ετη ιε προσδεομενον
 δε μου του περιποιησαι τω σημαινωμενωι αδελφωι στρατειαν
 δια το ατεκνον με ειναι δι ης και αυτος τε εν κατοχῃ ων εξω τε
 αυτου διενσχημονειν και βοηθειαν εχειν δεωμαι υμων
 15 των μεγιστων θεων Φιλομητορων εμβλευσαντας
 εις τα προγεγραμμενα ετη καθοτι ουθαμοθεν εχω τα επιτῆδη δι
 πλην τουτην εφ υμας καταφυγην τους θεους μεγιστους
 και αντιλημπτoras ποιησαμενον τυχειν με της δηλουμενης
 εις τον αδελφον στρατειας εαν φαινεται μερισαι καμοι ης εχετε
 20 προς παντας τους τοιουτους θεοσεβουας αντιλημψεως
 γραφηνηι οι καθηκει προσλαβεσθαι τον προωνομασμενον μου
 αδελφον

(Column 3.)

- Απολλωνιον εις την Δεξειλαου σημειαν
 η το τεταγμενον εχει εν Μεμφει και
 25 εκθειναι αυτωι οσον και αυτοι
 λαμβανουσιν μετρηματα και οψονι
 α οπως διενσχημονων δυνωμαι
 επιτελειν τας θυσιας υπερ τε υμων
 και των τεκνων οπως κυριευητε
 30 πασης χωρας ης ο ηλιος εφοραῖ τον
 απαντα χρονον τουτου δε γενομενου
 εσομαι δι υμας εσχηκως τον βιον
 το[ν] αεναον χρονον
 ευτυχειτε
 35 ποιησαι ανενεκειν δε ποσον εσται

(*δ*) This purports to be an order for the enrolment or registration of the appointment of Apollonius. The date is Tubi 19th, but there is some doubt whether this is correct; see note on (*α*), l. 82.

(Column 4.)

το προς [τ]ην εισδοσιν προσταγμα Lκδ τυβι ιθ
 εσω γεγραπτα ποιειν Δεκειου γραφηναι
 Σωστρατω γραμματει κατακολουθειν
 40. τοις προστεταγμενοις επιγραψαι δε αυτω
 την χωραν και σοι διασαφηςαι οπως
 και δι'α των συμβολων εγγλογιζεται
 αυτω ακολουθως

(*ε*) This is the order issued to Demetrius, the commander of the body-guard, to admit Apollonius to the company of Dexilaus, and to give him the usual pay and allowances. A docket is appended, presumably by Demetrius, with instructions to the clerks to carry out the order. The date is probably Tubi 6th, while the docket is dated Tubi 12th. There is nothing to indicate from whom the order comes.

Δημητριω
 Απολλωνιον Μακεδωνα προσλαβεσθαι
 45 εις την Δεξιλαου σημεαν την τεταγμε
 εν Μεμφει και εκθειναι αυτω ως καθη
 κει οίσα και οι αλλοι λαμβανουσι < ρν
 και πυρων ι γ αφ ων πυρων
 ι α και την τιμην εκ < ρ
 50 Lκδ τυβι ιβ
 τοις γραματευσιν κατακολουθιν
 ετους κδ τυβι ιβ αναγραφη ιβ

(*δ*) The following is an official memorandum from Demetrius to Dioscudes, enclosing or quoting several other documents for his instruction. The first of these is an order to the clerk Sostratus to conform to the report on the petition of Ptolemy (ll. 57-60). The report is then appended, reciting the petition to the king (61-67), the king's favourable answer (67-69), the official answer to the inquiry made by the king as to the rate of pay usual among the troops to which Apollonius was to be attached (70-80), and the order for the registration of the appointment (80-91). The date of the memorandum is Tubi 14th.

(Column 5.)

Δημητριος Διοσκουδει χαιρειν της
 προς Σωστρατον γραμματεα γεγραμενης
 55 επιστολης τ αντιγραφον υποτεταχαμεν

- οπως παρακολουθης ερρωσο $\Lambda\kappa\delta$ τυβι $\iota\delta$
 Σωτρατωι της παρα των γραμματεων
 αναφορας τ αντιγραφον υποτεταχαμεν
 οπως ποιης κατ αυτα παρα των γραμ
 60 .ματεων
 δοντος εντευξιν τω [βασιλει] και τη βασιλισηι
 Πτολεμαιος Γλαυκιου [Μακεδω]νος δι ης ε[πι]γραφει
 ειναι εν κατοχη εν τω πρ[ος Μεμ]φει μεγαλωι
 Σαραπειωω $\Lambda\iota\epsilon$ και η[ξιου] Απολλωνιον
 65 τον αδελφον αυτου προσβ[ε]σθαι εις την
 Δεξιλαο[υ] σημειαν και εκθειναι αυτωι οσον
 και αυτ[ο]ι λαμβανουσιν και ευτευξεως εχου
 σης χρηματισμον ποιησαι ανενεγκειν δε
 ποσον εσται εισεδοθη $\Lambda\kappa\delta$ χοιαχ $\kappa\bar{\varsigma}$
 70 τους εν τη Μεμφει επιγονους πρ.....ν
 επι < ρν και πυρων $\hat{\gamma}$ γ [αφ ω]ν τειθεσθαι
 πυρων $\hat{\alpha}$ α του δε λοιπου [της α]ρταβης < ρ
 επιγραφει Δεξιλαου και Θεονος προστεταχθαι
 δε οισ αν γνηται και το σιτονιον εκ < ρ εκθειναι
 75 ταυτας μεθ ενειαντον προσανενεκχθη
 δε διοτι ος αν προσταγχθηη τιθες τα αυτωι
 πυρων < α του δε λοιπου
 της αρταβης εκ < ρ

(Column 6.)

- και αλλα ε[σ]ται καθοτι
 80 προστετ[αγ]μην ενεχθη δ[ε]
 [το προς την επι]δοσιν προ[σ]
 ταγμα $\Lambda\kappa\delta$ τυβι [ι]θ
 εσω γεγραπτα ποιειν Δησησιου
 γραφηναι Σωστρατωι
 85 γραμμα[τ]εια κατακολουθιν
 τοις προστεταγμενοις
 επιγραφαι δε αυτωι
 χωραν και σοι διασαφησαι
 οπως και δια των συμβολων
 90 εγγλογισζεται αυτωι
 ακολουθως

τοις γραμματευσειν επισκεψα
 μενον ανενεγκειν

(e) A list of letters which the writer (probably Apollonius) delivered during the month Tubi. The date must be after the 25th of that month, as appears from l. 103.

(Column 7.)

- 95 τας παρα του Δημητριου[ν το]ν αρχισωματαφυλακος
 και γραμματεα των δ[ν]ναμεων επιστολας
 δ̄ μιαν τω Ποσιδω[νιω τω]ν στρατηγων και ᾱ
 Αμμωνιω τω αρχ[υπε]ρετην και μιαν
 τω Καλλιστρατω γραμματει και μιαν
 Διοσκουδει τω διοικ[ητ]ηι παρα του Διοσ
 100 (απετωδωκα αυ[το]ις . . . τυβι ιθ Lκδ)
 κουνδου του διοικητου επιστολας
 δυο μιαν Δωριωνι τω επιμελητη
 και μιαν τω στρατηγωι Ποσιδωνιω
 απεδωκα αυτοις του κδL τυβι κ̄ε

(f) Another catalogue of letters and applications referring to this transaction of the appointment of Apollonius, beginning with the delivery of the original application to the king, and perhaps incomplete at the end. The number of letters and reports which had to be written, and the number of applications which Apollonius had to make to different officials, suggest that there must have been a well-developed system of red tape in force in the government offices of the Ptolemies.

- 105 Lκδ θωνθ απεδωκα τω βασιλει
 και τη βασιλισση εντευξιν και εκο
 μισαμην παρ α'ντ[ων] και απεδωκα
 Δημητριω εσφρα[γι]σμενην και
 παρα του Δημητριου εκομισαμην
 110 παρα του Ταρριστωνος και μητηνεκα
 εις το γλογιστηριον Διοσκουριδη τω γραμ
 τει και Διοσκουριδει Χαιρημωνι και
 Χαιρημωνι Απολλωδωρωι και εισ
 δοσιν ποιει εις σ . . υλην τη κ̄ε
 115 και εκομισαμη τα προς την ισδοσιν
 προσταγματα δυο ᾱ Δημητριω
 και ᾱ Διοσκουδει και παρα Δημητριου
 του αρχισωματαφυ[λακ]ος και γραμμει τω[ν]
 δυναμεων εκ[ομι]σαμην επιστολας δ̄

(Column 8.)

- 120 μιαν Ποσιδω[νιω]ι στρατηγωι και ᾱ
 Αμμωνιω τω αρχυπερετην και ᾱ
 Καλλιστρατωι τω γραμματει και ᾱ
 [Δι]οσκουδει των φίλων και διοικητηι
 [παρ]εδοθη το προσταγμα και την επισ
 125 επιστολην εδοθη εις αναγνωσιν τωι διοι
 κητηι και εκομισαμην το προσταγμα

- Πτολεμαίω του υπομνηματοφός και
 την επιστολήν εκομισαμένην Επιμενη
 και μετηνέγκα προς Ισιδωρων τον αυτω
 130 τέλη και παρ αυτου μετηνέγκα Φιλοξε
 νωι και παρ αὐτου μετηνεκα Αρτεμωνι
 και παρ αυτου Λυκω και τυπον ποιει
 και μετηνεκα εις το επιλογηριον
 τω Σαραπιωνι παρ αυτου Ευβιωι
 135 και παρ αυτου Δωρωνι και τυπον ποιει
 και παλιν Σαραπιωνι και Ευβιωι και
 γραφει Νικανορει
 και εισεδοθη εις αναγνωσιν τω [διοι]κτητι
 και εκομισαμένην Επιμενη και μέ[τη]νέ[γκα]
 140 Σαραπιωνι και γραφει Νικανορει
 και εγφε δυο επιστολας δυο μιαν Δωρωνι
 τω επιμελητη και μιαν τωι Ποσιδωνιωι
 τωι στρατήγῳ του Μεμφειτου

Line 2. *επετοδοκα*: a corruption for *επεδοκα*.

Line 6. *επιγονης*: cf. note on Pap. xx. 1; the word shows that the name had become the title of a class in Egyptian society.

Line 8. *συνγενων κατοικων*: i.e. a Macedonian who had settled definitely in the country as a colonist.

Line 9. The first words are a confusion between *εν τη ταραχη* and *εν τοις της ταραχης χρονοις*. The time referred to is that of the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes and the war between Philometor and Euergetes (170-164 B.C.).

Line 12. *στρατειαν*: F. reads *στρατιαν*; the letters are rubbed.

Line 13. The letters of the last part of the line are confused and partially obliterated.

Line 18. *αντιλημπτoras*: the *η* is written over an *α*, as though the scribe had begun to write *αντιλαμβανειν*.

Line 21. *γραφηνηι*: for *γραφηνηαι*. *οι*: perhaps a slip for *οτι*; otherwise for *φ*. *καθηκει*: the *η* was at first written *ε*.

Line 23. *σημεα* = *σημεια*, used by Polybius as equivalent to the Roman *manipulus*.

Line 25. There is an obliteration between *και* and *αυτου*.

Line 29. *κυριευητε*: the *ρ* is written over an *ε*.

Line 35. The docket appended by the king.

Line 37. *ποιειν*: the scribe seems to have begun to write *ποιησαι*. *Δεκειον*: in l. 83 the name is given as *Δερσιον*.

Line 41. The *α* superscriptum is placed over *των* instead of over *δι*, by mistake.

Line 43. In ll. 94, 95 Demetrius is described as *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων* (= secretary to the forces). In the year 162 B.C. the office of *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* was coupled with that of *διοικητής*, in the person of Asclepiades. Now they are divided, Dioscudes being called *διοικητής* in l. 99, etc.

Line 45. *τεταγμῆ*: abbreviated for *τεταγμένην*.

Line 47. *οισα*: prob. = *οσα*; Peyron prefers *ἴσα*.

Line 48. *Ιε*. 3 artabas, of which one was to be given in kind, and two in money, at the rate of 100 drachmas per artaba. The word *αρτεβην* has been erased at the end of the line. The pay is evidently calculated by the month, one artaba of corn a month being equal to one loaf a day (Pap. xviii. 27), which would be a fair allowance.

Line 50. *ξ*: F. reads *κ*, but admits it is uncertain, and that if correct the preceding *ε* forms also the first stroke of the *κ*. It is clear however that *ξ* is right, and that the following docket implies that on the 12th the order was sent on to the clerks for execution.

Line 52. *αναγραφη ιβ*: probably the number of the register in which the order was recorded.

Line 61. The petition is that given in document (a) above.

Line 62. *Πτολεμαίος* should be *Πτολεμαίον*.

Line 64. *η[ξιον]*: there is a hole in the papyrus now, but as F. gives the word without any remark, it was probably complete at that time.

Line 68. *χρηματισμον*: an unusual employment of the word, to mean an affirmative answer.

Line 69. *εισεδοθη*: "a report was handed in."

Line 70. The last word is almost entirely obliterated; the letters *ει* or *ερ* seem to occur in the middle of it.

Line 72. *της αρταβης* <*ρ*: 100 drachmas was a very low rate at which to calculate the artaba, as its market value was generally between 250 and 300 drachmas. Cf. Pap. xxxv. 19.

Line 73. The following lines are obscure, both to decipher and to explain. Peyron renders: "But by an additional note of Dexilaus and Theon it was ordered that to those who enjoy also an allowance of corn payment shall be made at the rate of 100 dr.; but to none of these had payment been made" (reading *μηθεν αυτων προσανειχθαι*): "therefore until" (reading *εως αυ*) "it is otherwise ordained, pay to him," etc. But this involves supposing *δε* to be twice put at the end of the clause to which it belongs; and the statement that "to none of these had payment been made" introduces new and irrelevant matter, to which no further allusion is made. Perhaps, *επιγραφει* . . . *Θεονος* should go with the preceding line, "on the order of D. and Th.," continuing, "and it was further ordained that to those who enjoy also the allowance of corn at the rate of 100 dr., this should be paid at the end of the year (*μετ' ενιαντον*); and it was added in the report, 'Therefore, whoever is added to the roll, pay him his allowance, one artaba of corn,' etc." At the beginning of l. 77 the words *μετ' ενιαντον* have been erased. It might be customary to pay the allowance in lieu of the two artabas of

corn at the end of each year, after the manner of "deferred pay." *ανεγκεν* is the regular word for an official report; the sense of "to pay," which Peyron assigns, is unusual. With respect to the readings, it should be noted that F. reads *προσανειχθη* in l. 75 (the κ is somewhat badly formed), and *προσταχθειν* in l. 76; the letters in the latter case are half destroyed, but if it is an optative either *ος αν* or *εως αν* is bad grammar. *τα αντωι* in that line is a doubtful reading. In l. 77 the sign < is a slip for η , the sign for artaba.

Line 82. There appear to be slight signs of the ι , which is given in (θ), l. 36, of which this is a copy. Peyron, however, thinks θ alone should be read in both places; for this order appears to be enclosed in the memorandum given in ll. 53-56, which is dated Tubi 14th. Either, then, the copyist made a mistake in the date of the order in l. 36, or that order was post-dated, so as not to come into operation till the 19th.

Line 85. *γραμμα[τ]εια*: the last four letters are much mutilated, but there are indications that this is the right reading. The word should, of course, have been *γραμματει*.

Line 86. There seems to be an additional ς at the end of the line.

Line 88. At the end of the line is what appears to be the beginning of the word $\theta\omega\varsigma$, but it has been struck out.

Line 92. Docket, presumably by Dioscudes, who required yet another report.

Line 97. The first word is almost obliterated, but l. 121 shows the true reading.

Line 100. This line is written in later between ll. 99 and 101; it should come after *διοικητη* in l. 99. There should perhaps be a *τας* inserted before *παρα* in l. 99, as in l. 94.

Line 101. At the end of the line is some writing, perhaps a miswriting of *δυο*; but the letter δ is the only one clearly distinguishable.

Line 106. *εντευξιν*: i.e. the petition given in document (α).

Line 108. At the end of the line the letters *πα* have been written and struck out.

Line 110. F. reads *τουτ Δρριστωνος*.

Line 112. *Διοσκουριδει*: i.e. from D. to Chaeremon, and so with *Χαιρημων* in the next line.

Line 117. There is not room for *Διοσκου[ριδ]ει*, as F. prints it, and there is no reason why the letter should not be to Dioscudes, who has been mentioned in ll. 53 and 99.

Line 119. These four letters are also enumerated in (ϵ).

Line 124. F. reads [$\alpha\pi$]εδοθη, but there is a long down-stroke visible. The whole word is rather doubtful.

Line 125. *επιστολην*: the first four letters are repeated through inadvertence.

Line 127. Peyron suggests *ται υπομνηματογραφωι*; perhaps *υπομνηματος*.

Line 128. *εκομισαμην*: at first written *εκομισαν*.

Line 133. *επιλογηριον*: so, apparently; F. reads *επιλογ[ιστ]-ηριον*.

Line 137. A line and a half obliterated, containing the words *και γραφει επιστολας δυο και ανενοκεν (?) Σαρα*; the last letter of *ανενοκεν* is doubtful, as it resembles a π rather than a ν .

Line 138. *εισεδοθη*: perhaps written *εισεδοθης*.

Line 141. *δυο* is repeated inadvertently.

Line 143. *του Μεμφειτου*: *sc. νομου*. The writing visible between this line and the preceding is due to the scribe having begun to write this line on a spongy place in the papyrus.

PAPYRUS XXVIII. [FORSHALL XVII.]-*circ.* 162 B.C.

THE following short piece clearly belongs to the same set of documents as those which we have been considering, including as it does the names of Apollonius, Sarapion, and Ptolemy, as well as a reference to an allowance of corn; but there is not enough to enable us to fix the particular date and object of it.

The papyrus measures 9 inches by 3, most of it being blank. Part of it has been destroyed, including the ends of the first two lines.

Απολλωνιος . . .

Σαραπιωνι ος . . .

τω αδελφωι χαιρειν

καλως ουν ποισης

5 φροτισαι μοι σιταρι

ον δεδωκα

Πτολεμαιωι το . .

†ς ευτυχει

Line 2. *Σαραπιωνι*: probably the brother of Ptolemy and Apollonius, mentioned in Pap. xxxiii. (θ).

Line 5. *φροτισαι*: for *φροντισαι*.

Line 8. After \dagger s the words *εχεις παρα* have been written and cancelled.

2. MISCELLANEOUS (PTOLEMAIC PERIOD).

PAPYRUS III. [FORSHALL I.]—146 or 135 B.C.

THIS document is a deed of sale in which the property concerned is of a peculiarly Egyptian description, namely mummies and the duties connected with their preservation. It is a Greek copy of an original in demotic (which now exists at Paris), such copies being usually made in the case of documents of this description, as we learn from Turin Pap. I. p. 5, l. 4 (ed. A. Peyron). The parties concerned are certain members of a guild called Cholchytæ or Choachytæ, of whom there is frequent mention in other papyri (though not in any others in the British Museum). In the Turin and Paris collections there are several papyri, some of great length, recording the progress of an action brought by a person of the name of Hermias against some members of the guild, from which we hear incidentally something of the nature and duties of the latter. We learn that to them were assigned part of the ceremonies connected with the embalming or the preservation of mummies (τῶν τὰς λειτουργίας ἐν ταῖς νεκρίαις παρεχομένων, καλουμένων δὲ Χολχύτων, Turin Pap. I. p. 1, l. 20). The process of embalming has been fully described by Herodotus (ii. 86) and Diodorus (i. 91). First, a slit was made in the side of the corpse; then, the viscera were extracted and the substances used for embalming it inserted; thirdly, the body was swathed in a vast number of folds of wrapping and enclosed in one or more painted wooden cases; finally, it was stored away and preserved, and it may be that certain rites were practised in connection with it, if the friends and relatives so desired. Now, the first stage was performed by a member of the guild known as Παρασχισταί, whose function was held in abhorrence by the popular taste. The second was performed by the Ταριχευταί, who, on the other hand, were regarded with great respect. To the Χοαχύται, whose name we do not hear of in any other authority than these papyri, belongs one of the remaining functions; but as to which of the two it was there is some doubt. This doubt would be removed if we could be certain of the reading of the word. But while Dr. Young (who was the first to come across it), A. Peyron, Leemans, Forshall, and Letronne read it χολχύτης, a writer in the *Dublin University Review* in 1883, Brunet de Presle (doubtfully), E. Revillout, and Wessely read χοαχύτης. Those who are acquainted with the writing of these papyri will know that it is impossible to distinguish α and λ with any certainty, except from the context. Nor are we helped by reference to the etymology of the word, since plausible etymologies can be given for both forms, and according to our acceptance of one or the other will be our view of the duties performed by this guild. Dr. Young and Peyron refer it to a Coptic root which occurs several times in the Memphitic version of the Old Testament in a sense which is represented by the Greek περιβάλλειν, "to wrap round." This would exactly suit a

word which should describe the persons who performed the third of the functions mentioned above, that of covering the embalmed body with all its numerous wrappings. On the other hand, those who support the reading *χοαχύτης* make it an entirely Greek word (as *παρασχιστής* and *ταριχευτής* are), denoting those who performed libations in honour of the dead. The point must remain somewhat doubtful; but in favour of the latter view it may be suggested that the right of collecting offerings in respect of the mummies in their charge (*καρπείων*, l. 17, *etc.*; *τῶν λογενομένων* . . *χάριν τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν*, l. 40) rather indicates an office which has a continuous duty to discharge, than one which would be performed, and presumably paid for, once for all.

The present document throws some light on the existence of property in mummies. It records a sale by Onnophris, son of Horus and Senpoëris, to his brother Horus, of a moiety of a third part of certain mummies lying in a place called Thynabunun, in the nome of Perithebas, and of the collections and perquisites in connection with the same. The other moiety belonged to a third brother, named Asos, and it is not clear whether this was now also transferred to Horus or not (*cf.* ll. 18, 23). There are other documents which refer to the same family, notably the large papyrus known as the "Contrat de Casati," from the name of the traveller who acquired it, which is now in Paris (Brunet de Presle, No. 5). This too deals with a transfer of property in mummies, apparently by the same Horus, though on a much larger scale; and there can be little doubt that our papyrus, together with others both Greek and demotic, at Paris, Leyden, and Berlin, came originally from the same source, though, as in so many other cases, the Arabs who were their first discoverers have divided them in order to sell them separately. A pedigree of the family has been constructed by M. Brugsch, and is given by Brunet de Presle (*Notices et Extraits*, xviii. p. 157).

The date of our papyrus can be fixed within narrow limits. It is dated "in the 36th year"; and though the king is not named, he can only be Philometor or Euergetes II. Dr. Young denied that the dates of the former went beyond his 35th year, but Peyron has produced an instance of the 36th, which was his last and coincides with the 25th year of his sometime colleague and successor Euergetes. The date may therefore be either 146 B.C. or 135 B.C. The great Casati contract, which appears to be a sale by Horus to his sons, is dated 114 B.C.; but that is consistent with either of the above dates.

The papyrus includes, in addition to the actual deed of sale (in which is recited a list of the mummies concerned), a transcript of the entry in the register of the official tax-farmers, recording the sale, the value of the property, and the amount of the tax. The text of the whole was first published (with a translation) by Dr. Thomas Young (*An Account of some recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature and Egyptian Antiquities*, etc., London, 1823), together with a translation of the demotic text which is at Paris. It is also included in Forshall's publication. The latter refers to other versions which had been published, and quotes their divergences in readings; but, as his is apparently in every case the more correct reading, it has not been thought necessary to refer to the others here. On the subject of the Choachytæ reference should be made to the note by A. Peyron in his edition of the Turin papyri (p. 77 *seq.*). The names of the persons whose mummies are part of the property in question, and of the witnesses to the transaction, which are nearly all Egyptian, receive confirmation in most cases from the Paris papyri.

The papyrus measures 17½ inches in length and 12¼ in height, and is written in two columns. It is slightly mutilated, and has been rubbed in a good many places, so that the readings are often doubtful. The writing is regular, but the letters are cursively formed, and not always easy to read.

(Column 1.)

- αντιγραφ[ον συ]νγραφης Αιγυπτίας . . με ενης
κατα δυ . . .
ετους λς ιη̄ μετα τα κοινα ταδε λεγει χ[οα]χυτης
των [Διοσπολεω]ς της μεγαλη[ς] Οννωφρις Ωρου [μ]ητρος
5 Ξενποη[ρις ως Λ]μ ευμεγεθης μελαγχρωσ κοιλ[ο]φθαλμος
αναφαλαι[τος] Ωρωι Ωρου μητ[ρ]ος Ξενποηρις ηνδοκησας με
της τιμ[ης το]υ ημισους του [τρι]του λογειας των κειμενων
νεκρων [εν] Θυναβουνουν εν τ[η Λ]ιβυη των Περιθηβας
10 εν τοις Με[μνον]ειοις ομοιως και ημισους του τριτου λειτουργιων
και των αλλ[λων] ων τα ονοματα Ιμουθης Σποτουτος συν
τεκνοις [και πα]ντων Χαποχρατης Νεχθμωνθου συν τεκνοις
και παντω[ν Α]ρσησις Νεχθμωνθου ομοιως Πετεμεστους
Νεχθ[μωνθου] ωσαντως Αρσησις Ζμινιος ομοιως
Οσοροηρις . . . [ο]μοιως Σποτους Χαποχανσιος ωσ[α]ντως
15 ζωγλυφ[ος α]φ ων επιβαλλει Ασωτι Ωρου μητρος [Ξε]νποηρις
τωι νεω[τερω] σου αδελφωι των αυτων χοαχυτων το ημισυ
του προει[ρημεν]ου τριτου μερους λειτουργων και καρπειων και
[τ]ων αλλ[ων] . . . α]πεδοτο αυτωι εν τωι λςΛ [αθ]υρ επι βασιλεως
αιωνοβιου [εις π]ληρωσιν του τριτου και του ημισους καρπειων
20 και των αλλω[ν νεκ]ρων εν Θυ Πατεστημει συν τεκνοις και
παντων [και η]μισους καρπειων επιβαλλοντων μοι εν τοις
Πετεχω[νς]ιος γαλακτοφορου και τοπου Ασητος καλουμενου
Φρεκαγητο[υ] συν των εν αυτωι νεκρων αφ ων επιβαλλει
τωι αυτωι Α[σ]ωτι το ημισυ α απεδομην αυτωι σα εισιν
25 και εχω αυ[τ]ων παρα σου την τιμην κουθεν σοι εγκαλω
περι αυτων [α]πο της σημερον εαν δε τις σοι επέλθῃ
περι αυτων αποστησω αυτον εαν δε μη αποστησωι
αποστησω επαναγκον εγραψεν Ωρος Φαβιτος ο παρα των
ιερειων τ[ου] Αμονρασονθηρ και των συνναων θεων μονο
30 γραφος μα[ρτυ]ρες Εριευσ Φατρους Πετειαρηρης Πατευτημιος

(Column 2.)

- Πετειαρη[ο]χρατης . . . ου Σναχομνευς Πετευριος Σναχομης
Ψενχων[σι]ος Τοτ[ο]ης Φιβιος Πορτης Απολλωνιον Ζμινιος
Πετεμεστουτος Πετευτημις Αρσησις Αμονορταισις
Παχημιος Ωρος Χιμναραντος Αρμηνις Ζθεναητιος
35 Μαηλις Μιρσιος Αντ[ι]μαχος Αντιγεuous Πετοφωις Φιβιος

Παναας Πετοσιριος / μαρτυρες ις

αντιγραφον πτωματος ετους λς χοιαχ. θ̄ τ̄ επι την εν Διος ω
 τραπεζαν εφ̄ ης Λυσιμαχος κ̄ εγ̄κ̄ κατα διαγραφ[η]ν Ασκληπιαδου και
 Ζμινιος τελωνων εφ̄ ην υπογρ̄ Πτολεμαι[ος] ο αντιγρ̄ Ωρος Ωρου
 40 χοαχυτης ων̄ ης̄ των λογενομενων δι αυτων χαριω των κειμενων
 νεκρων εν Θυναβουουν εν τοις Μεμνονειοις της Λιβυης
 του Περιθ̄ ταφοις ανθ̄ ης̄ ποιουνται λειτουργιας ᾱ εωνησατο
 παρα Οννωφριος του Ωρου χαλκου Άγ̄ τ̄ς̄ Τ/Τ
 Λυσιμαχος τρ̄

Line 1. There are remains of letters which partly fill the lacuna, but it is impossible to be certain of their reading. F. reads them *μεθερμην* . . ., suggesting *μεθερμηνευομενης κατα δυναμιν*, but this does not seem to meet the visible characters satisfactorily.

Lines 3-6. A small fragment of papyrus has been wrongly inserted in the lacuna which exists near the beginnings of these lines. Cf. note on l. 14.

Line 3. The name of the month is lost; F., thinking he detected the remains of a ρ, reads *αθρη*, as in l. 18. *χοαχυτης*: on the spelling of this word, see the introductory note. Here the doubtful letter is wanting, and in ll. 16 and 40 below it is impossible to be certain.

Line 4. *Διοσπολεως της μεγαλης*: the later Greek name of Thebes, representing the Egyptian name No-Ammon, "the city of Ammon."

Line 6. *ηυδοκας με*: Young and Kosegarten (*vid.* Forshall) read *ηυδοκασε ασμε[νως]*, which is impossible.

Line 8. *των Περιθ̄δας*: the name of the nome in which Thebes stood. The same district is also often spoken of under the name *Παθυριτης*; and Peyron (Tur. Pap. iv. l. 4) shows reason to believe that both names were used synonymously, though properly denoting different districts of the one nome.

Line 9. *εν τοις Μεμνονειοις*: the palace called Memnonia, to the west of Thebes, in the quarter where the tombs were. It seems to have given its name to the whole quarter. Before *ημισους*, the word *του* has been written and erased.

Line 11. *παντων*: the construction is quite ungrammatical; cf. l. 23, *συν των . . . νεκρων*.

Line 12. [Α]ρσισησις: this name is found several times in the Paris papyrus, as well as in the next line here; so the filling of the lacuna is practically certain.

Line 14. F. reads *οσοροπρις . . . ου ομοιος*; from this and the following lines, it is clear that a small fragment which, as the papyrus is now mounted, stands in ll. 3-6, should stand here, in place of another small fragment which clearly does not belong here.

Line 15. F. notes that there is a blank space between *ζωγλυφος* and the next word; at present there is a ν visible: cf. last note.

Line 16. *νωετρω*: the letters *ερ* (and *με* of *προσειρημενου* in the next line) are on the fragment which is misplaced in ll. 3-6.

Line 18. *αυτοι*: the pronouns are rather confused in this document; apparently Asos, the third brother, owned one moiety of the one-third of the property, and sold it to one of the others, who held the other moiety, but it is not clear whether he sold it to Onnophris before the latter disposed of his share to Horus, or to the latter at the same time as the other transaction. In any case the whole property, apparently, was now to be in the hands of Horus.

Line 21. *επιβαλλωντων*: intransitive—"belonging to" or "acruing to," as in l. 15 above.

Line 23. *Φρεκαγηνου*: the termination is doubtful, especially the η. F. reads *φρεκαγης*, but a *το* seems traceable.

Line 24. *εισιν*: or *ειστην*, which might be a blunder for either singular or plural. *α απεδωμην*: F. and Young give *απεδωμην* alone; but there seem clearly to be two α's.

Line 27. *εαν δε μη, κ.τ.λ.*: the meaning seems to be, not as Young renders, "And if I do not [otherwise] repel it, I will use compulsory means," but "and if I do not repel him, I will do so under compulsion," i.e. I shall be liable to be compelled to do so.

Line 29. *Λμουρασουθηρ*: the termination is rather doubtful. *των συνναων θεων*: the gods which share the same temple.

Line 31. *Σαχομης*: there appears to be something between the μ and η; possibly a portion of a ν.

Line 32. *Τοτους*: this name appears in the Paris papyri, and is probably right here, though, as F. says, there is room in the lacuna for more than one letter, and he accordingly suggests *Τοτουης*. *Πορτης*: F., *Πορτις*.

Line 34. *Παχημιος*: or *Παχημιος*, as F.; but *Παχ-* is a very common beginning to Egyptian names, while *Πακ-* is not so.

Line 37. The following is a copy of the entry in the register of the farmers of the taxes, recording this sale of property, which of course carried with it a change of liability to taxation. It is evident from the records of the suit between Hermias and the Choachytæ, that these entries were taken as evidence on the subject of ownership: cf. Turin Pap. i. p. 5, l. 18, and p. 9, l. 14, with Peyron's notes. *πτωμα*: "register." The original register, also in Greek (the bankers who farmed the taxes being Greek), is appended to the demotic version of the deed at Paris, and is given by Young, Forshall, Peyron, and Brunet de Presle. There are a few verbal variations. τ̄ stands for *τέτακται*. Ο̄: this symbol stands for *πᾶσι*.

Line 38. *ε̄ εγ̄κ̄*: not "of the 20th department," as Young renders it; *ε̄* standing for *εἰκοστής*, as the Paris copy shows, and being a substantive, while *ἐγκικλῖος* is an adjective meaning "periodical"; cf. Peyron, Turin Papyrus, pt. i. p. 138. It means "farmer of the tax of one-twentieth." Lysimachus was one of the banking firm which farmed the tax.

Line 39. *υπογρ̄* stands for *υπογράφει* and *αντιγρ̄* for *αντιγραφεύς*, as appears from the other documents of this kind at Paris.

Line 40. *ωης*: this word has been inserted after the rest was written. *λογενομενων*: F. reads *λογενομενων*, though noting that *λογενομενων* would be correct and is read in the Paris copy; but there appears to be a very distinct ν here too.

Line 43. τ̄ς̄: i.e. *τέλος*. Peyron takes this to be the grammatical subject of *τέτακται*, as we find phrases such as *ὡν τὰ τέλη τετάχθαι*, etc. This seems hardly probable, both from its position in the sentence and from the way in which it is written,

wide intervals separating the words χαλκον, ἤγ, and τς. Rather, it stands independently as a sort of heading, introducing the statement of the amount of the tax due on the property, the value of which has just been given as 3 talents, thus — “price, 3 talents; tax, 900 drachmas,” which is the correct amount due, at the rate of $\frac{1}{30}$, on 3 talents (= 18,000 drachmas). The symbol T is the common form (though found with a square

head in carved inscriptions) of the old letter *san*, which survived as the numeral indicating 900. The sign / indicates *total*. There being only one item of taxation here, the total is of course the same as the single item; but it is repeated for the sake of formality and uniformity with other entries in the register.

Line 44. τρ̄: i.e. *τραπέζιτης*.

PAPYRUS XLIII. [FORSHALL XIX.]—2nd cent. B.C.

WE have here a specimen of a private letter, apparently from a mother to her son, congratulating him on having completed his education and being now in a position to earn his own livelihood, which he was to do, apparently, as a teacher in a school kept by a person whose name is partly lost, and who is described as *ιατροκλήτης*. As the person addressed had been learning Egyptian for the purpose, it is clear that he, although a Greek, would be employed in the teaching of Egyptian children.

The papyrus measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$, but the letter barely occupies half of it. It is not dated, but from the writing may belong to the 2nd century B.C. The writing is uncial, slightly joined together, and presents no difficulty in reading.

πνυθανομενη μανθα
 νειν σε Αιγυπτια
 γραμματα συνεχαρην σοι
 και εμαντην οτι
 5 ννγ γε παραγενομενος
 εις την πολιν διδασκεις
 παρα Φαλου . . ητι ιατροκλητηι τα
 παιδαρια και εξεις
 εφοδιον εις το γηρας

Line 1. *μανθαειν*: strictly this would, of course, mean “that you *are learning* Egyptian,” but from the sequel it would appear that he was now to begin the process of teaching, and

therefore had presumably ended his period of preparation.

Line 7. *ιατροκλητηι*: the word is written in above the line. The title is unknown, and it is not clear what it denotes.

PAPYRUS L.—1st cent. B.C.

THE following is a return, for purposes of the assessment of taxes, of the value of a house in Memphis, with a bakery attached to it. The return is made in accordance with an official order (*κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα*), and the house is valued at 4000 drachmas and the bakery at 2000, the two together amounting to a talent. The dimensions of each building are given as 21 *πήχεις* by 13, the *πήχυς* being, as Hultsch (*Griechische und römische Metrologie*, p. 280) shows, in Egypt the larger or royal *πήχυς* of 28 *δάκτυλοι*, or about 21 inches. The document is interesting as the only extant example of the way in which returns of taxable property were made in Egypt at a time previous to the Roman annexation.

Unfortunately, the document is undated, and the date has to be judged from the evidence of the handwriting.

The papyrus measures about 11 inches by 6. It is of a dark colour, and the ink is somewhat brown. The letters are indistinctly formed, and often considerably huddled together. In two or three places additions have been made by writing between the lines. The character is semi-cursive, and appears to be of the 1st century B.C.

The text has been published, with translations into French and German respectively, by M. Eugène Revillout in the *Revue Egyptologique* (vol. iii. p. 186) in 1885, and by Dr. K. Wessely in *Wiener Studien* (vol. viii. p. 208) in 1886.

- Μητροδωρῶι ἐπιμελητῇ
 παρὰ Ἀπυγχίου Ἰναρωίτος
 Ἑλληνομεμφίτης ἀπογραφομαί
 κατὰ τὸ ἐκτέθεν προσταγμᾶ
- 5 τὴν ὑπαρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν
 ἔκαι αὐλῇ ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνίῳ ἐν τοπῶι . . . ἐν
 Σθωτιεῶι ἡς μετρά ἑτῆς μὲν οἰκίας κᾶ ἐπὶ ὧ
 τῆς δὲ αὐλῆς δ̄ ἐπὶ [ὧ]
- 10 γείτονες πρὸς νοτόν οἰκία Ταμψώιτος
 Φανώτος πρὸς βορρᾶν Πασίτος Ἀριανίος
 καὶ ὁδὸς ἀνα μέσον πρὸς λιβά
 σιτοποιεῖον μου καὶ ὁδὸς ἀνα μέσον
 πρὸς ἀπηλιωτὴν Ποκάυς Πετεποίνιος
 ταυτὴν οὖν τιμῶμαι < δ̄
- 15 καὶ ἀλλήν οἰκίαν ἐν οἷ σιτοποιούσῳ
 καὶ αὐλῇ ὧν μετρά τῆς μὲν οἰκίας
 μετρά κᾶ ἐπὶ ὧ καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς δ̄
 ἐπὶ ὧ γείτονες Οὐνωφρίδης Ὡρου οἰκία
 πρὸς βορρᾶν Πασίτος τοῦ Ἀριανίου καὶ ὁδὸς
- 20 ἀνα μέσον πρὸς λιβά Νεφεργήριος
 Παχράτου πρὸς ἀπηλιωτὴν ἡ προγεγραμμένη
 οἰκία καὶ ὁδὸς ἀνα μέσον ταυτὴν οὖν
 τιμῶμαι χαλκοῦ < β̄
 / Ᾱ α

Line 2. Ἰναρωίτος : R., Ἰναρωίτος ; W., Ἰναρωίτος.

Line 3. Ἑλληνομεμφίτης : i.e. a Greek citizen of Memphis.

Line 4. ἐκτέθεν : originally written ἐκτεκεν, but there are some signs of the second κ having been altered to a θ, as W. reads it. The whole line has been inserted as an after-thought, in the space between the two adjoining lines.

Line 6. αὐλῇ : so, apparently, for αὐλῶν. ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνίῳ : i.e. in the Greek quarter. The reading of the word at the end of the line is uncertain. W. suggests λεγ^ο doubtfully, but that is impossible. It looks rather like απεν, and may be part of the proper name which follows.

Line 7. Σθωτιεῶι : not σθωτοιεῶι, as W. reads ; still less

σθοτοιεῶι, as he gives it in his commentary. There is a faint το at the end of the line, perhaps intentionally erased, as it makes no sense.

Line 8. This line has been inserted as an after-thought. The number after ἐπὶ is lost in a lacuna, but is probably ὧ. The semicircle over the figures is the symbol for πῆχυς ; and taking the πῆχυς as = 21 inches (cf. introductory note), the house would measure about 36 ft. 9 in. by 22 ft. 9 in.

Line 9. Ταμψώιτος : or Ταμψώιτος, as W.

Line 10. Πασίτος : this might be read Πασίτος, as W. gives it ; but in l. 19, where it recurs, it is plainly Πασίτος.

Line 13. Ποκάυς Πετεποίνιος : W. reads ἀποκλυσμοὶ ἀπο τοῦ

Νεῖλον, which is bold, but irreconcilable with the visible letters, which are, however, somewhat confused and very doubtful. But it is hardly likely that the inundations of the Nile should be named as a boundary, since they vary so much every year.

Line 15. ωι : W. gives η, which of course is correct grammatically ; but ωι appears to be written.

Line 18. γεῖτονες : πρὸς νοτον should be supplied after this.

Οὐνωφρις : or Ἀνωφρις. R. reads Οὐνωφριος, but the letter ο is not discernible. οικια : W., οικιας.

Line 21. Παχρατου : R., Πεχρατου ; probably by a slip, as the α is clear. η προγεγραμνη : W., ως προγεγραπται ; but the other seems more in accordance with the writing, which is partly obscured by a flaw in the papyrus.

Line 24. I.e. "total 1 talent," the slanting line denoting "total," as elsewhere.

PAPYRUS XV. (I-16) [FORSHALL XXIV.—XL.].—131-130 B.C.

THE papyri grouped under this heading are a number of small fragments presented to the British Museum by Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, in 1834. In themselves they are too small and fragmentary to be of any substantial value, or even for their character to be ascertained ; but a happy discovery of Prof. U. Wilcken has established their origin. In the Berlin Royal Museum there are a number of papyrus fragments obtained from Thebes, which were published by Parthey in 1869. This edition, however, was full of errors of decipherment, and the editor had not observed the interconnection of the documents. Prof. Wilcken perceived that in many cases fragments, separated in this edition, belonged to a single document ; that all the documents referred to the proceedings of the same institution, and several of them to a single affair ; and, further, that they could be supplemented from materials preserved in certain foreign libraries. These include two fragments from Paris, published by Egger, and the sixteen now before us, which had already been published in Forshall's edition in 1839. The whole collection has accordingly been set in order by Prof. Wilcken, and published, with a commentary, in the *Abhandlungen der königl. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1886, under the title of "Actenstücke aus der königlichen Bank zu Theben, in den Museen von Berlin, London, Paris." The text of the London fragments contains a few errors, owing to Prof. Wilcken having worked in the first instance from photographs ; but these are corrected in an appendix after an inspection of the originals. From having the context to help him, and from his wide experience of the papyrus-literature, Prof. Wilcken has been able in many cases to decipher words which were unintelligible to Forshall, who had only the isolated fragments to work upon ; and consequently in the following transcripts his readings have been almost always adopted in cases of doubt. Six of the sixteen fragments have not been assigned to specific places, being mostly too small to be identified.

According to Prof. Wilcken, these papyri are documents belonging to the royal bank at Thebes, which had the management of the royal revenues and estates. Some of them refer to the sale or lease by auction of the demesne lands of the crown, others to the advances of pay and allowances to the troops. Their full nature, and the questions arising out of them, can only be discussed in dealing with the complete documents, not with fragments so very slight as those now before us. Reference must accordingly be made to Prof. Wilcken's article. Little more can be done here than indicate varieties or difficulties of reading.

The date of several of the papyri is given as the 40th year, which must refer to the reign of Euergetes II., the only one of the Ptolemies who reigned so long. This corresponds with the year 131-130 B.C.

PAPYRUS XV. (1) [FORSHALL XXXVII.].

THIS fragment is part of Wilcken's No. I., lines 8–12. It refers to the sale by auction of certain lands, and is one of four documents dealing with the same transaction.

The papyrus measures $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$. The writing is semi-cursive, regular, and better formed than that of many of the other fragments, and in consequence tolerably clear.

. . . ς και επι της υπο . . .
 . . . του δρομου του μεγ . . .
 . . . χθεντων δι Ασκλη . . .
 . . . σιλικου γραμματε . . .
 5 . . . θου κωμογραμμα . . .

Line 5. The *κωμογραμματεὺς* is an official referred to several times in these papyri. He holds a low place in the official hierarchy, there being apparently one in every village. Above him comes the *τοπογραμματεὺς*, the *τόπος* being a division of the

νόμος. It should be noted, however, that A. Peyron reverses the relation (*Pap. Graec. Taur. Mus.* pt. ii. pp. 53 *seq.*). Both officials are named in (6) below.

PAPYRUS XV. (2) [FORSHALL XXXVI.].

THIS is part of the same document as the last, and follows it immediately (Wilcken, I. ll. 13–18). The papyrus measures 4 inches by 2.

. . . Δι]οσπολει τραπέζαν και αλλω . . .
 . . . αγορασμωι προσέληλυθε . . .
 . . . οφορον ειναι του διασαφουμε . . .
 . . . τοποις ειναι και εις ετερον μηδ . . .
 5 . . . μολις ουν πεπεικαμεν αυτον . . .
 . . . εξαμενος επι της εν Διοσπολ[ει . . .

Line 1. Wilcken reads *αλλων π* at the end, but probably only by a slip, as there is no trace of the last two letters.

Line 2. Of the first two letters only the tops are visible.

PAPYRUS XV. (3) [FORSHALL XXVI.].

THIS forms part of the first eight lines of the second column of the same document as the preceding. The papyrus measures 3 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$, the upper part being blank.

. . . μενον υπομνημα
 . . . ν Δαμωνος των

. . . ς δι ου υφισταντο
 . . . αυται εποικιω
 5 . . . πληρωσω η̄
 . . . σιλικου διαγραφης
 . . . < σ τας συναγομενας
 επιγρα[φ]εν

Line 5. The semicircle over the η is the symbol for πήχεις.

Line 8. επιγραφεν: of the first two letters only the tops are visible.

PAPYRUS XV. (4) [FORSHALL XXIV.].

THIS and the following fragment belong to the second of Wilcken's reconstructed documents, which is in subject the continuation of the first. The present papyrus measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $\frac{3}{4}$. The upper half is blank, which, together with the size of the first two letters, led Forshall to conjecture that it is the beginning of a document; and this is confirmed by Wilcken's reconstruction.

Διο . . .
 πα . . .

Line 1. Not Διος, as F. reads. The full name is probably Διονυσιος.

PAPYRUS XV. (5) [FORSHALL XXXIV.].

PART of the same document as the above (Wilcken, II ll. 15-22). The papyrus measures 3 inches by 1.

. . . ωαμ . . .
 . . . και του οσο . . .
 . . . τ]οπαρχιας . . .
 . . . θενος δ . . .
 5 . . . γ]νωμενα . . .
 . . . â < â . . .
 . . . ος επι τ . . .
 . . . υ β . . .

Line 1. Wilcken reads this as μμω, part of the name Αμμωνιον. It is impossible to be certain over so small a fragment as remains, but it is difficult to trace Wilcken's letters. F. reads ωα.

Line 2. F. reads τα for του, but the other seems clear, and is read by Wilcken.

Line 4. There is part of a letter visible before θ, which may be a ν, as Wilcken reads it, i.e. ουθενος.

Line 5. Wilcken, εν ο μετα, which is also possible; but, as the context is lost on both sides, there is nothing to decide it.

PAPYRUS XV. (6) [FORSHALL XXXIX. and XL.].

THESE two fragments are portions of a single sheet, that numbered XXXIX. by Forshall containing the ends of some of the lines of XL. as well as the beginnings of a second column. They appear in Wilcken as lines 1-10 of his No. III. col. 1, and 2-10 of col. 2. The readings of both Forshall and Wilcken were confused by the fact that a small fragment from the beginning of ll. 5, 6, had become detached from its place, and had been wrongly re-attached to lines 8, 9. This error was observed by Forshall, but the correct replacing was only pointed out by Wilcken after his inspection of the original (which has since been rightly restored); and his reading has accordingly been revised in his appendix, though it may be observed that he often reads a letter or two more, at either end of the lines, than appears to be justifiable from the original.

It should be noted that this document is referred by Brunet de Presle, in his introductory note to Paris Pap. 14, to the series connected with the Choachytæ, on the strength of the appearance of the names Apollonius (which is read by Forshall in l. 1, but, as it seems, erroneously) and Petenephotes; and Wessely (*Proleg. ad pap. graec. novam collectionem edendam*, p. 2) refers most of these fragments to the same subject. Prof. Wilcken's identification of them with the Berlin fragments of course supersedes this; but it may be observed that it is possible that some of the same persons are referred to in both sets of documents, the place being the same, and the date of the present series being covered by the range of the other. Another name which occurs in both sets is that of Osoroeris.

The first fragment (XL.) measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square; the upper part is blank, showing that it is the top of a column. The second measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$. The writing is regular, but not very well formed, and has been rubbed in places.

... Αμ]μυνιον των απο Διοσπολεως της
 ... μα δι ου [v]φιστατο ...
 ... πο της ... αναγραφομεν
 ... οιως ... ανα[γρα]φομενης ...
 5 ... ανα δς αλλης ~ δδ' ανα ε < ^{βδ'} χ εγδοθειση[ς]
 ... $\tilde{\chi}$ < $\tilde{\delta}$ και Πχορχωνσιος του τοπογραμμ[ατ]εως
 ... φoρας εξ [ω]ν Πετενεφωτης κω[μο]γραμμ
 ... φ την αξιαν $\tilde{\chi}$ Λ α \tilde{a} εξεθηκαμ[εν]
 ... προς τον ... ε ... γας ... και
 10 ... νος ... ις

(Column 2.)

τη ...
 και [λ]ιβος α ...
 μιαν ...
 υφιστα ...

15 αξίως τ
 Πχορχω
 υφ[ιστ]ατο
 με
 ης

Line 1. F. reads the first name as [Απο]λλωνίου, but the letter is much more like a μ.

Line 2. Wilcken reads the rest of the line as γης της . . . ρ; but nothing is really visible except a long down-stroke belonging to the first letter after υφιστατο.

Line 3. F. reads the intermediate word as ημερας; Wilcken omits, as that does not suit the sense. The letters traceable look more like . . ε . ν.

Line 5. Wilcken reads the letters before ανα as < η, and αλλην for αλλης. What follows αλλης is the symbol for άρουρα. The second δ after it is quite differently formed from the first,

and appears to be the figure sometimes used to indicate 4. An accent has accordingly been added to distinguish it.

Line 8. ξ, κ.τ.λ.: i.e. χαλκού τάλαντον α, δραχμάς ā.

Line 9. The ν is doubtful, and not read by Wilcken, who also reads the end of the line as α . . . ας και; but it is not clear how he obtains that reading.

Line 12. The last letter may be μ instead of α, as Wilcken suggests.

Line 19. ης: Wilcken reads υποκ; only part of the tops of the letters are visible, but they do not seem to support that reading. F. reads η alone.

PAPYRUS XV. (7) [FORSHALL XXXIII.].

THIS fragment forms a portion of Wilcken's No. IV. col. 1. ll. 17-22. It measures 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches square. The writing is rather irregular, and not very well formed.

. . . τους αποδομεν[ους]
 . . . κειμενα εκφορια
 . . . ραθησεται
 . . . εξεσται δε και
 5 . . . δοθι ουκ ελασσονος
 . . .

Line 6. There are some remains of characters in this line, which is separated by a wider interval than usual from the

preceding one. Wilcken reads them as [με]χειρ ι[θ]. They might be almost anything.

PAPYRUS XV. (8) [FORSHALL XXXI.].

THIS is the largest and most important of the present group of fragments, but its purport would be unintelligible without the Berlin fragment to which it undoubtedly belongs, and with which it is combined in Wilcken's No. VI., forming ll. 9-18 of it. The whole document includes two letters. The first is an order from one Heracleides to a subordinate of the same name to advance the pay and allowances due to the body of cavalry quartered at Thebes. The second, which is an enclosure in the first, is a copy of the request for this advance made by one Apollonius, probably an official of the Theban bank (cf. l. 5, δι' ἡμῶν), whose name occurs also in other documents of this series, to Heracleides, stating

the amount due, which is also recapitulated in the first letter. The British Museum fragment has the last lines of the first letter and the whole of the enclosure except the concluding line, which can be easily supplied from the first letter. From this document it appears that the pay of the Egyptian soldiers was classed under two heads, the first being a money payment, the second (nominally at least) a provision of food in kind. The first class includes the *ὀψώνιον*, which is here stated at 2785 drachmas a month for the whole force (the size of which is not given); and the *ἵπποτροφικόν*, a small allowance for fodder, amounting only to 50 drachmas a month. The second class is called the *σιτώνιον*, which nominally consisted of 56 artabas of corn. Of this, however, only 13 artabas were really paid in kind, the remaining 43 being commuted for a money payment. This money payment was calculated at two different rates, 29 artabas being paid for at the rate of 100 drachmas apiece (a rate which we also find in use in Pap. XXIII.) and 14 at a rate one-third lower, or $66\frac{2}{3}$ drachmas. The total money value of the commuted *σιτώνιον* comes to 3833 drachmas 2 obols, which, added to the *ὀψώνιον*, amounts to 1 talent 668 drachmas and 2 obols. To this, for some unassigned reason, 310 drachmas are added, making a total of 1 talent 978 drachmas 2 obols for the month, or for the whole year 13 talents 5736 drachmas 4 obols. This calculation, with the readings in the text which it involves, is taken from Wilcken. Several obscurities, however, still remain with regard to the pay of the Egyptian army. We are not told the number of men in the body to which this pay was assigned; but either it was a very small one, or the rate of pay was exceedingly low. Thirteen artabas of corn in kind would be the proper allowance for 13 men at the rate of a loaf a day (*cf.* Pap. XVIII. 25, XXIII. 48); and the money payment above stated is equal to that of 19 or 20 of the company of *ἐπίγονοι* at Thebes, as given in the latter passage. Even that rate, which Wilcken refers to as denoting a specially privileged position on the part of that force, is a sufficiently low one; for it amounts, in money and corn together, to 450 drachmas (of copper, as that is the usual standard of value, and moreover, if otherwise, the pay would be ridiculously high) a month, which (accepting, as do Mommsen, Wilcken, Revillout, Peyron, etc., the ratio of silver to copper as 1 to 120) is equivalent to $3\frac{3}{4}$ drachmas of silver; whereas the pay of the Athenian hoplite was 20 silver drachmas a month. The whole question of Egyptian finance is, however, full of difficulties, which cannot be discussed here. The date of the present document is the 40th year of Euergetes II., *i.e.* 131–130 B.C.

The papyrus measures 3 inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$. The writing is neat and regular, but small and not very clear.

σιτ̄ ἀνα ρ . καθ βτ̄ ανα ξς F τ̄ γω[λγ]
 συν δ οψ̄ λ̄ α χξ̄ η = αῦ τ̄ ἅ ι / τι ωστε ειναι λ̄ α τ̄ οη =
 της τε ιβ̄ μ̄ η̄ λ̄ ιγ̄ ἐψλς F / λ̄ ιγ̄ ἐψλς συνβολα και αντισῶ ποησαι ως καθηκει
 ερρωσο Lμ μεχειρ ιδ̄

- 5 Ἀπολλωνιος Ηρακλειδει χαιρειν συνταξ̄ον χρηματισαι δι ημων
 εις προδομ[α] . . . εχρη τα ειθισμενα συμβολα ε[πιστ]αληναι
 ωστε τοις [μ]ετακειμενοις εξ Ερμωνθεως του Παθυριτου εις
 Διοσπολιν την μεγαλην εφε το γινομενον του μ̄ η̄ οψ̄ β̄ ψ̄ ἅ πε

10 . . . Υ λ γ = μ γ $\tilde{\gamma}$ ω [λ γ] συν δ ο $\tilde{\psi}$ $\bar{\Lambda}$ α χ ξ η = α $\tilde{\nu}$ τ $\bar{\Lambda}$ ι

Endorsed—Ηρακλειδει.

Line 1. Wilcken fills the lacuna after the ρ with the symbol $\bar{\Lambda}$, of which, however, he confesses he does not know the meaning. In none of the cases in which it appears does it seem to make any difference in the sense. The only meaning that can be attached to it is either "drachmas," for which there is another symbol, and which would hardly be inserted, as this symbol twice is, in the middle of a number, or "hundred," for which a symbol is superfluous. βτ: the β should have the circumflex over it, to indicate that it stands for 2000; but it is lost through the papyrus being torn. The symbols Υ and Φ mean 900 (drachmas) and 4 obols respectively; after the latter the Berlin fragment supplies the number ιδ.

Line 2. The symbol = means 2 obols. As to the meaning of α $\tilde{\nu}$, Wilcken is doubtful. It should stand for some additional head of pay, like ο $\tilde{\psi}$ and σι $\tilde{\tau}$ above; but it is not clear what it can be. The symbol /, as elsewhere, stands for "total," and $\bar{\Lambda}$ for "talent."

Line 3. της τε ιβ $\bar{\mu}\eta$: i.e. δωδεκαμηνον. Wilcken reads δε for τε. The last words of the line are much huddled together. Wilcken's reading has been followed.

Line 5. χρηματισαι: or χρηματισθαι, as Wilcken, by mistake for χρηματίζεσθαι.

Line 6. Wilcken reads εις προδομα μεχρι του . . . τα ειθ, believing the lacuna to be an ancient flaw in the papyrus, and

that no letters are missing. On the other hand, there appears to be more than a μ between the lacuna which represents the last letter of προδομα and the ε; and the letter after ρ appears to be an η. The reading of the last two words is also open to doubt. προδομα means "an advance"; if Wilcken's reading is correct, the sense will apparently be that the money was to be sent at once without waiting for the completion of the usual formalities of receipt or warrants.

Line 7. Apparently the men for whom this pay was intended had lately been moved from Hermonthis, in the Pathyritic nome, to Thebes.

Line 8. εφε: it is not clear what this stands for; apparently it should be the verb after ωστε.

Line 9. τ : the symbol for artaba or μετρητής (in liquid measure); cf. Pap. xvii. 51.

Line 10. [μγ]: Wilcken (in his appendix) fills the lacuna before these characters with the words / [σ] (του) — (i.e. αγραβας). The restitution is somewhat doubtful, as the stroke which he takes for an ι is much too long for that letter, and the symbol which he explains as = αγραβας does not seem to occur elsewhere, and is quite unlike the one in ordinary use. The sense of the passage is, however, clear, in whatever way the lacuna be filled. After this line at least one more is missing, to complete the enumeration given above in ll. 2, 3.

PAPYRUS XV. (9) [FORSHALL XXXVIII.].

THIS fragment is printed by Wilcken as No. XI. (a), since, although it does not fit into any of the Berlin papyri, it is a repetition of a formula which occurs in his No. XI. The papyrus measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$, and is written in a small and regular hand.

. . . [ν] ποτεθεισθαι εν διεγγνημ[ατι] . . .
 . . . ι υπερ Πτολεμειου του κα . . .
 . . . σπολει πεζων αρχαιων τ . . .
 . . . ωμενην ω . . . θυρ . . . ε . . .

Line 2. κα: not κλ, as F. reads; the parallel passage in Wilcken's No. XI. giving the full word as καθεστამενον.

Line 4. This line is barely legible.

PAPYRUS XV. (10) [FORSHALL XXVIII.].

WILCKEN prints this as No. XI. (b), since it corresponds with some words in his No. XI. The papyrus measures 2 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$, and the writing is small but regular. The last line is separated from the preceding ones by a space of about half an inch.

. . . . εω . νητο . . .
 . . . ν απαρτιση τους . . .
 . . . τιθηται εν αυτωι . . .

 . . . σ τετανος στρο . . .

Line 1. The ν and the το are doubtful. Wilcken reads
 εω . νη . .

Line 4. Wilcken, στρογγ; but there is not enough of the last
 letters to be certain. Possibly στρο . .

PAPYRUS XV. (11) [FORSHALL XXV.].

THIS and the other remaining fragments have not been identified by Wilcken, and are mostly too minute to be of any importance. This fragment measures three-quarters of an inch square.

. . . ν . . .
 . . . θη . . .

PAPYRUS XV. (12) [FORSHALL XXVII.].

THIS fragment measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, all the right-hand part being blank.

. . . ους
 . . . γε . .
 . . . αγ . ι

PAPYRUS XV. (13) [FORSHALL XXIX.].

THIS fragment measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, being the complete breadth of the top of a sheet of papyrus. The writing is in a more cursive hand than usual.

Αντιπατρος ο παρα Διοσκουριδου
 Διογενει τῷ των περιθηβας χ'

Line 1. The name 'Αντίπατρος occurs also in Wilcken's
 No. V. 1.

mention of Διογένους τοῦ μεταχειριζομένου τὴν ἐν Διοσπόλει
 τράπεζαν. χ': i.e. χαίρειν.

Line 2. τῷ: i.e. τραπεζίτῃ; in Wilck. I. 12, 13, there is

On the reverse is a fragment of some accounts, in a large handwriting.

$\bar{\Lambda}$ α η
 αψοε
 $\bar{\Lambda}$ ι τε
 $\bar{\Lambda}$

Line 1. $\bar{\Lambda}$: F. prints this symbol in each case as =, but it appears much more likely to be the symbol for a talent than that for two obols; and the bend in the lower line is strongly marked. The η is doubtful: F. reads ξ.

PAPYRUS XV. (14) [FORSHALL XXX.].

THIS fragment measures 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, and has writing on both sides. The writing is thin, neat, and regular in both, especially in front.

. . . το δεδοται ο παρ . . .
 . . μ]εσυρη μηνι ε . . .
 . . . η . σ π . γαρ . . .
 επιτε . . .
 5 . . . αι τωι . . .
 . . . υπε . . .

Line 1. Or το, i.e. απο- or υποδεδοται.
 Line 2. The last letter may be θ.

Line 3. F. reads φ γ . ρ.

Reverse.

. . . ν ζ ιε και ε . . .
 . . . νος συμ ψ γ . . .
 ων κα . . .
 καπ

Line 1. F. prints =, but it appears to be the symbol for ἄρουρα.

Line 2. ψ: some letters or signs are written in combination with this letter.

Line 4. καπ: or και τη.

PAPYRUS XV. (15) [FORSHALL XXXII.].

THIS fragment measures 4 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, the upper portion being blank. It is apparently the beginning of a letter. The writing is thicker and more cursive than usual.

Οσοροηρις
 τοπᾶ προς . . .
 και προς τα . . .
 . . τ αλλα η κα . . .

Line 1. The letters after the second ρ are doubtful. The name Οσοροηρις occurs also in Wilck. II. 16.

Line 2. τοπᾶ: possibly for τοπαρχιας; the third letter is doubtful.

PAPYRUS XV. (16) [FORSHALL XXXV.].

THIS fragment measures 2 inches by 1. The writing is black and rather rough, but is not the same as that of the preceding, as Forshall thinks.

. . . τα γηρ
 . . . προς προ . ει . .
 . . . ων ο χαλκος . .
 . . . ρεπεγρ Ηρα . . .
 5 δος . .

Line 1. The last letter is doubtful.
Line 2. F. reads ως προ . . ε.

Line 4. This line is separated by a larger interval than usual from the preceding.

PAPYRUS LIA.—2nd cent. B.C.

THE following is a fragment of a petition to one of the Ptolemies, and from its handwriting would appear to belong to the same period as the one which follows (Pap. CVI.), i.e. *circa* 150 B.C. But it is much too mutilated to be of any importance, nothing being intelligible as to its contents except that it is a complaint concerning some injury suffered by the petitioners.

The main fragment measures 4½ inches by 3½, of which the greater part, both at the top and the side, is blank margin. There is an additional piece measuring 2¾ inches by 1¾, which is almost entirely blank. The writing is very cursive, and the readings are therefore doubtful, as in no part is there a sufficient consecutive passage to enable one to judge of the sense. The text has been printed by Wessely in *Wiener Studien* for 1886, p. 208.

Βασιλει Πτολεμαιωι χαιρ[ειν
 του Αχυν εεπ

.....
 5 αδικουμεθα υπο Α
 φυλακιτευ ς του
 γαρ γε ν
 οι τ περ ν εις φ
 το οι ν ν εκφορ ..
 10 αντι ποτ

Line 2. του Αχυν . . . : the name of the petitioner with his father's name might be expected in this place. W. reads του απεν[ηνεγμ]ενου.

Lines 3, 4. These two lines have been intentionally obliterated.

Line 5. αδικουμεθα : W. reads αδικουμαι, but the characters following the μ are certainly ε and α with a letter between them.

Line 6. φυλακιτευ : W., φυλακιτου; but the ε seems clear.

Line 7. This line has been written in later. W. reads του for γαρ.

Line 8. W. reads . . . α]πη[γε]ν εις φυ[λακην], but the remaining characters hardly support this. There is no trace of a ν following the ρ.

Line 9. . . . ν : possibly ανηγεν, as W. reads; but the characters might make almost anything.

There are a few letters on the remaining portion of the papyrus, which is the left-hand margin, immediately below the preceding part; but there is not enough to give any complete word, except the article τωι and perhaps απαντε[ς], together with the symbol Ϟ, which stands for πόλις.

PAPYRUS CVI.—2nd cent. B.C.

THE following document is a petition for redress of injury, addressed to one of the Ptolemies. The date cannot be determined with certainty, but the reference in l. 11 to the 25th year of the reign shows that it belongs to one of the earlier Ptolemies, none of the later princes having reigned so long. The character of the writing agrees with some other specimens belonging to the second century B.C., and probably the 25th year is that either of Philometor or of Euergetes II., *i.e.* either 157 B.C. or 146 B.C. The subject of complaint is an assault by a person named Cephalon, a man apparently in the position of a non-commissioned officer, on a soldier over whom, as the latter asserts, he had no lawful authority. The name of the complainant is partially destroyed, but as his father's name, Polemon, is Greek, it is clear that both parties were of the same nationality, and that this is not a case of disorder arising from the national ill-feeling between the Greeks and the Egyptians, of which we have examples among the Serapeum papers.

The papyrus measures 8½ inches by 2¾, and is mutilated at the beginning and end. The writing is of a very cursive character; the letters are badly formed, and are very difficult to decipher. The text has been published by Dr. Wessely in *Wiener Studien* for 1886, p. 205, and his decipherment has been of great assistance.

Βασιλει Πτολεμ[αιωι]
 χαιρειν Αρεν
 Πολεμωνος Τριπτολιας

5 μισθοφορου Ερετριας αδι
 κουμαι υπο Κεφαλωνος
 σταθμοδοτων οντος
 γαρ μου υπο Μοσχωνος
 Κεφαλων ουδενος ποι
 ουμενου [υπ εμου] προς
 10 αυτον
 του κε L παννι ζ και
 εις τον . . [τ]οπο[ν] τα τε
 σκευη μου εξερριψεν εις
 την οδον και αυτον
 15 με τυπτων εξεβαλ'έν
 εμου δε ουκ εκχωρου
 τος αλλ επιμαρτυρο
 μενου τους παροντας
 και συνδραμοντων
 20 πλειονων και [ε]πιτι
 μωντων αυτω ουτως
 απηλλαγη εγω δε
 τα σκευη τα αποριφεν
 τα μου εις την οδον
 25 εισηνεγκα δεομαι
 ονν σου βασιλευ προς τα

 στατω ενσκειψ[αμενον]
 επαναγκασαι
 30 της βιας και . .

Line 1. All this line except the first two letters is much rubbed and obliterated.

Line 3. *Τριπολις* : W. reads *Τριπολεμ*, the chief objection to which is that the word is not continued in the next line, and there is no sign of the papyrus having been torn at the end of this. The last two letters, moreover, strongly resemble ας.

Line 4. *Ερετριας* : W. gives *εταιρου*, but doubtfully; the termination in particular is very indistinct, and the present reading is not given with any confidence.

Line 6. *σταθμοδοτων* : i.e. a quartermaster. The dispute appears to have arisen out of a question concerning the soldiers' quarters, Cephalon violently turning the complainant out of those he was occupying, though the latter asserts that he was not under Cephalon's command, but under that of Moschion.

Line 9. *ποιουμενου υπ εμου* : W., *ποιησαμενου μου*; but in that case *ουδενος* must be wrong. The line is very nearly obliterated, but it must be admitted that the remains hardly support the reading here given.

Line 11. This line has been inserted between lines 10 and 12,

after the latter had been written. The name of the month is nearly obliterated, and is very doubtful; the date also may be εζ instead of ζ.

Line 12. W. reads *εμου* in the lacuna here. The letter after *τον* is either ε or σ, but there is not room for four letters between it and the ο which is the next visible character.

Line 17. *επιμαρτυρομενου* : not *επεναρτυνομενου*, as W. reads.

Line 23. *τα αποριφεντα* : W. reads *ταρριφεντα*, and comments on it as an important form, comparing with it the forms used by Aristophanes of Byzantium, such as *παραρρουν*, *επιρρηγμιν*. But there is no sign of the double ρ in the papyrus, the characters of which are extremely indistinct and partly lost in a lacuna.

Line 26. The lines following this are contained in two separate fragments of papyrus, which were differently arranged when W. transcribed them. One line is lost after l. 26, and one or two at the end. The sense is, however, obvious. *προς τα* may be a portion of the word *προσταξαι*, as W. suggests, and . . *στατω* in l. 28 will be the name of the official to whom the inquiry and the enforcement of redress would be committed.

3. MAGICAL PAPYRI.

ONE large and interesting class of papyri in the British Museum, as in other collections, consists of those which have to do with the subject of Magic. They are composed chiefly of series of charms and incantations, some of a general character, others confined to particular objects. In their main features they are not different from the spells and invocations which have been employed in all countries from the earliest times to the present. The objects are, naturally enough, the same—success in love, triumph over enemies, personal health, information as to the future, victory in competition, the compelling of the gods to the service of men. The methods, too, are very similar—the mixture of natural ingredients, of which some are manifestly held more efficacious than others, the inscription of strange and apparently unmeaning figures and characters, and the recitation of formulæ which are largely composed of gibberish.

But though the general features of the employment of art-magic are the same in all times and places, every nation will have some special characteristics of its own, chiefly in respect of the Powers addressed and the qualities attributed to them. This is the chief interest and value of the present group of papyri, as evidences of the tone of common thought in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries of our era, and of the strange commixture of religions and superstitions which were characteristic of it. There are at least four elements which are here found in combination,—namely, Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, and Gnostic, the proportions of each varying in different documents. Perhaps the most interesting are those in which the Gnostic element is most strongly marked, as illustrating a phase of thought of which we have not too many examples, but which was very prevalent over a considerable area in the early centuries of Christianity.

Its character may be briefly defined as the product of two main lines of thought—a love of mysticism, and the doctrine of a hierarchy of divine beings, arranged in degrees of rank and power. The former is a characteristic, more or less, of all peoples. Even the practical Romans were attracted by the mysteries of the Jewish religion and the worship of Isis; and societies of initiated persons, preserving esoteric secrets and practising strange rites, have been common in all ages. The second element, the doctrine of emanations from the supreme Divine Being, ranged in successive orders of descent, is first found in an extended form in the Zendavesta, from which, in all probability, it made its way into the Jewish Kabbala. Manicheism, which is a combination of this system with Judaism, retaining the dualism which is an especial feature of the Zoroastrian religion, makes its appearance in the third century, to which date the earlier of the present group of papyri may probably be referred. The date of the origin of Gnosticism cannot be precisely fixed. Some of its doctrines were evidently in the air at the time when the later epistles of St. Paul and those of St. John were written; and Simon Magus was always held to be one of its chief originators. But it was not crystallised into systematic form till the beginning of the second century, when the

two chief schools of it were established by Menander (a pupil of Simon Magus) in Syria, and Basilides in Alexandria. The latter was less markedly dualistic than the former and more pantheistic, therein according with the Jewish Kabbala; and hence it is not surprising that we do not meet with any distinctly dualistic traits in the papyri.

It is unnecessary to describe at length the Gnostic system, or to give the names of the successive grades of emanations which compose its hierarchy. For this the works which formally treat of the subject must be consulted. A comprehension of the system is not required in order to understand the contents of the papyri, which are not the composition of professed Gnostics, but of persons using the thoughts and phraseology of a prevalent system of belief along with the older Greek and Egyptian mythologies. Some of the most common names and notions should, however, be noticed. First among these is the frequent use, in all sorts of combinations, of the seven vowels. One reason for this is, no doubt, the fact of their being of the mystic number seven. Another is that they were used to veil the Hebrew name of God. The exact pronunciation of that name, as is well known, was preserved a profound secret, but several approximations were made to it; among which the commonest is the word *Ιαω* (cf. Diod. Sic. i. 94), which was sometimes expanded, so as to employ all the vowels, into *Ιαωουηε*. An early Gnostic work mentioned below, the *Pistis Sophia*, says of the vowels that they are "a name wherein be contained all Names and all Lights and all Powers" (c. 335, p. 378, ed. Petermann). Other names taken from the Hebrew titles of the Deity, and occurring very frequently in magical formulæ, are Sabaoth and Adonai. The Ophite doctrine, which was one of the earliest forms of Gnosticism, enumerated Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloï, Ouraios, and Astaphaios, as the six emanations of Ildabaoth, the creator and tyrant of the Lower World; and these six, with their progenitor, became the lords of the seven planetary spheres. It will be noticed that the first four of these six are Hebrew names of the Deity.

Another name essentially characteristic of the Gnostic scheme is the word *αβρασαξ*, or, as is said to be the proper form, Abraxas. Its origin and meaning are doubtful: it is diversely explained as a Coptic word meaning "Holy Name," or as a corruption of the Hebrew *Ha-Brachah*, which means "blessing." A confirmation of the latter suggestion may be found in the fact that it is from the Hebrew phrase "Ha-Brachah-dabarah" (= "pronounce the blessing," or "the name of the Blessed") that the celebrated magic word "abracadabra" is probably derived. But, whatever be its origin, its use is as a name of the Supreme Being. It was promulgated by Basilides, and is of very frequent occurrence on gems and in all kinds of Gnostic and magical writings. Other names and phrases characteristic of Gnosticism will be noted as they occur. A great storehouse of such words is preserved in the work known as *Pistis Sophia*, a strange Gnostic work, ascribed, but probably falsely, to Valentinus, the pupil and successor of Basilides, which describes the words and actions of our Lord in terms of the wildest and most mystical theosophy.

The other elements which enter into these magical documents call for no special note. For the most part they are intelligible enough, though some passages require to be elucidated by those who are experts in the writings and thought of the period or in the Coptic language. Many of the words of apparent gibberish are, no doubt, based on Coptic forms, just as others (but not so many) are probably Greek; but the examples of the latter show

that we cannot hope to extract a connected or coherent sense from most of these passages. Formulæ of this description, handed down orally for some considerable period and recited without much attention to their meaning, soon become distorted and corrupt, as appears in the case of the hexameter hymns of the kind known as "Orphic," which occur in several of these papyri.

Most of the principal European libraries have specimens of this class of literature. The largest is a papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which has been printed by Dr. K. Wessely, along with a shorter one in the Louvre and two from the British Museum, in the *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie* for 1888. Two in the Berlin Museum were published by Parthey in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Berlin* in 1865, and two, of considerable length, are among the Leyden papyri edited by Dr. C. Leemans in 1885. Of those in the British Museum, some have already appeared in various foreign publications, while others are now published for the first time. The earlier editions are mentioned in the separate introductory notes to each document.

PAPYRUS XLVI.—4th cent.

THIS papyrus contains instructions for ten different magical processes, all of which are of considerable length; and in respect of detail and elaborateness it is, perhaps, the most interesting of the collection. The following are the subjects dealt with:—(1) ll. 1-52, a divination by means of objects seen by a boy, acting under the direction of the magician, looking into a bowl—a process known to professors of the black art in many places and times; (2) ll. 53-69, a spell to evoke a spirit *in propria persona*; (3) ll. 70-95, a charm and invocation to secure discovery of a thief; (4) ll. 96-172, a long invocation of the Supreme Deity, enumerating all his names and attributes, and calling on him to deliver a person from the possession of some spirit, and to make all the spirits obedient to him; (5) ll. 172-201 and 293-303, an invocation to Hermes, to secure the capture of a thief; (6) ll. 202-292, a spell to enforce a god to give the person using it knowledge of the secret thoughts of men, and of past and future events: the preparation of a magic ring and of the figure of a beetle engraved on an emerald are parts of the process; (7) ll. 304-369, a charm, involving the preparation of an inscribed plate, of general application, the special object to be filled up as each case requires; (8) ll. 370-439, a method of procuring supernatural information in dreams: a hexameter hymn to Hermes is part of the process employed; (9) ll. 440-458, a second spell of the same description; (10) ll. 459-489, an invocation of the Creator of the world, of great potency and of general application. A good many of the typical Gnostic words and phrases occur here and there throughout the papyrus.

The text of this papyrus was edited, with a translation and interesting explanatory notes, by C. W. Goodwin, in the Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for 1852; and considerable use has been made of this edition in the following notes. The text alone was also issued by Dr. Wessely, in the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy for

1889; the editor does not seem to have known Goodwin's work. A translation of ll. 304-369 is given in King's *Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 242-244.

The papyrus consists of seven leaves, each measuring about 11½ inches by 4¾. The text is written on both sides of each leaf, that of the *verso* following consecutively on that of the *recto*. The writing is uncial, probably of the fourth century, rather coarse and irregular, but plain and legible, and in very black ink. There are hardly any gaps or flaws in the papyrus.

(Col. 1, *rect.*)

- μαν' Σαραπιακον
 . . παιδος επι λυχνου και φιαλης
 και βαθρου
 5 επικαλουμαι σε Ζευ ηλιε μιθρα σα
 ραπι ανικητε μελιουχε μελικερ
 τα μελιγενετωρ . αβρααλβαβαχα
 μβηχι . βαιβειζωθ . ^{ηβαιβεβωθ}σεριαβεβωθ
 αμελχιψιθιουθιπιθοιο . πνουτενιν
 θηρητηρου . ^{ι ι ι ι}ινευγω . αιηια . εηοια
 10 ηεαι . ευηιε . ωωωω . ευηωιαω
 αι . βακαξιχυχ . βοσιψετηθ . φοβη
 βιβωθ . ο μεγας μεγας Σαραπισ σαλ
 ασφρηθ . ^{αλλα}οδαργαζας . οδαρμαγας .
 οδαφαρ . ^{ακραβαεωεφιαζαλεαρβαμενοθιωμαμασφρητι}νακιαβωθ . εφια . ζελεαρθαρ
 15 μεθομηω⁴ λαμαρμερα . οπητηβι .
^(ακραβαεωεφιαζαλεαρβαμενοθιωμαμασφρητι)πητηβι . μαριανου . αναφανηθι και δος
 εντροπην τω φανεντι προ πυρος και
 χιονος βαϊν^χφωωχ συ γαρ ει ο κα
 ταδειξας φως και χιονα φριξωπο
 20 βρονταξαστραπ'τ'ακυποδωκτε . πιν

Line 1. At the top of the column, which is torn, there are a few letters in a small hand, which Wessely reads *φιλταλε* . . . but which appear rather to be *φιαζαλε*. They belong to some preceding, not to the following, document.

Line 3. *βαθρου*: the second letter is nearly obliterated; Wessely and Goodwin read *βοθρου*. The description of the method of incantation which follows is not very clear, but the *θρόνος* spoken of in l. 32 may be the *βάθρον* here mentioned, while there is no reference to anything like *βάθρος*. The method of incantation is apparently that of a boy looking into a bowl, under the instructions of the magicians, and reporting what he sees.

Line 6. The two dotted letters are no doubt meant to be

cancelled.

Line 12. *σαλ*: W., *σαη*; but the last letter is certainly a *μ*.

Line 13. The word *αλλα* was originally written between the second and third words of the line, but was obliterated there; W. gives it in both places as if it were still intact in both.

Line 16. *μαριανου*: W., *μαρανου*. In the line written in above, W. reads *σακρα* . . .; but his *σ* is really a bracket, there being a corresponding one at the end; and the word is the same, except apparently in one letter, as that written in above l. 14. W., however, reads it differently in several letters.

Line 18. *βαϊνχωωχ* is the correct form of this word of incantation, which is the name of the second of the three great Powers, *τριδυνάμεις*, mentioned in the *Pistis Sophia*.

- τουχε ετωμθοουτ . ὀ^{θα}πσιναηακ α
 ρουρονγοα παφθα ενωσαδε . ιαη .
 ιαωαι . αοιαω . ὀ^υν θγ^ρ
 25 το $\bar{\alpha}$ ανεωγμενω τω στοματι κυματον^ρ
 το $\bar{\delta}$ εν συστροφη προς πνευματι^ρ απειλη[ν]
 το $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}$ γη αερι ουρανω
 το $\bar{\epsilon}$ κυνοκεφαλιστι
 το $\bar{\delta}$ ομοιως ως προκειται
 το $\bar{\eta}$ μεθ ηδονης δασυνων
 30 το $\bar{\upsilon}$ ποιμενι καθως μακρον εαν
 ειπη οτι χρηματιζω λεγε
 εισερχεσθω ο θρονος του θεου θρονου ζατ
 ερα κυμα . κυμα . λναγεν . αψιταδρυσ .
 γη μολιανδρον . βονβλιλον . πευχ
 35 ρη . εισενεχθητω ο θρονος
 εαν ονν υπο $\bar{\delta}$ ανδρων βασταζεται
 συ ερωτα τ[ι] εστεφανωμενοι εισι και
 τι προαγει του θρονου εαν λεγη ε
 λαιας εστεφανωμενοι εισι και θυ

(Col. I, vers.)

- 40 μιατηριον προαγει αληθε[ναι ο]
 παις απολυσις χωρει κυρ[ιε]
 εις τον $\bar{\iota}$ διον κοσμον και εις του[ς ι]
 διους θρονους εις τας $\bar{\iota}$ διας αψειδα[ς]
 και διατηρησον με και τον παιδα
 45 τουτον απημαντους εν ονοματι
 του $\bar{\upsilon}$ πιστου θεου σαμασφρηθ
 ποιει ϵ ουσης εν στερεω ζωδιω
 μετα αγαθοποιων η εν οριοις αγα
 θοις $\bar{\upsilon}$ παρ^χ μη πληθουσης εστι γαρ
 50 αμεινον και ουτως η μαντεια εν

Line 21. *οπω* . . . : or *ογισ* ; not *σης*, as W. reads. Nor is it possible to read *ανακτα* at the end of the line, as he does.

Line 24. The following lines contain directions for the pronunciation of the words in these invocations. *κυματονμ(ενον)* : "rolled like a wave."

Line 25. *απειλην* : the last letters are mutilated. The meaning is, "shortly, for spiritual threatening."

Line 26. *γη αερι* : W. reads *εν αερι*, but the reading is perfectly clear. The mystic name *ιαω* symbolises earth, air, and water, as well as being the name of the Deity.

Line 27. *κυνοκεφαλιστι* : "like the baboon."

Line 29. "Gently aspirated."

Line 30. "Unto the Shepherd (Hermes) as if it were long."

Line 31. *χρηματιζω* : apparently in the sense of "I am attending."

Line 40. *αληθε[ναι ο]* : adopting Wessely's way of filling the lacuna.

Line 41. *απολυσις* : i.e. dismissal of the spirit raised.

Line 47. *εν στερεω ζωδιω* : Proclus (*Paraph.* i. 15) applies this term to the signs Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Aquarius, saying that when the sun is in these it affects us more powerfully.

Line 48. *αγαθοποιων* : an astrological term, used also by Artemidorus and Proclus, for stars of benign influence ; Proclus specifies Jupiter and Venus as being such.

τακτος απεργαζεται εν δε αλλοις αν
τιγραφοις εγεγραπτο οτι πληθουσης

αυτοπ' λογος

- ειμ . το . ειμ . αλαληπ . βαρβαρι
55 αθ . μενεβρειο . αρβαθιαωθ . ιου
ηλ . ιαηλ . ουνηνιμε . μεσομμιας .
ερχεσθω ο θεος ο χρηματιζω μοι και
μη απερχεσθω αχρις αν απολυσω
αυτον ουρναουρ . σουλ . ζασουλ .
60 ουοτ . νοουμβιαου . θαβρατ . βερια
ου . αχθιρι . μαραι . ελφεων . ταβα
ωθ . κιρασινα . λαμψουρη . ιαβοε .
αβλαμαθαναλβα . ακραμμαχαμαρει
εις ποτηριω χαλκω επι ελαιου εν✠
65 δε τον δεξιον οφθαλμ' μεθ υδατος πλοι
ου νεναναγηκοτος και τον ευωνυμ'
στειμι κοπτιτικον μετα του ϝ υδα'
εαν δε μη ευρης υδωρ απο νεναναγη'
πλοιου απο πακτωνος βεβαπτισ'
70 λαβων βοτανην χελκβει και βουγλωσ
σον υλισον και τα εκπιασματα καυσον
και μειξον τω χυλω ✠ και γρ εις τοιχῶ
χωω . εν αυτοις και λαβων πανουργικῶ
ξυλον γλυψον σφυραν και εν
75 ταυτη κρουε εις το ους λεγων

(Col. 2, rect.)

[τ]ον λογον εξορκιζω σε κατα των
αγιων ονοματων π^α τ^λ τον αρῶ
τατι χαλχακ χαλκουμ χιαμ χαρ
χρονμ ζβαρ βηρι ζβαρκομ χρη

Line 51. *εν αλλοις αντιγραφοις*: this reference to other versions shows that this charm, and probably the others, were of old standing, and that this and similar documents are collections from previously existing records.

Lines 53-69. The second section. The title means, "a spell for beholding (a deity) oneself." Goodwin's version, "a spell for immediate vision," is liable to misunderstanding.

Line 57. *χρηματιζω*: apparently a slip for *χρηματιζων*; or possibly *ο* is for *ον* in the sense of "whom I consult."

Line 59. *ουρναουρ*: W., *ουρναουρ*; the third letter is rather blotted, but it is not a ζ.

Line 60. The sign above the letters *ουοτ* may be a rough breathing (τ), as W. reads it.

Line 63. *αβλαμαθαναλβα*: the proper form is *αβλαναθαναλβα*, spelling the same both ways; it is probably a Hebrew word, meaning "thou art our father," and it occurs very frequently in Gnostic charms and invocations. *ακραμμαχαμαρει*: this is

given in *Pistis Sophia* (p. 359) as the name of the first of the three *ἀόρατοι θεοί*, a triad standing high in the Gnostic hierarchy of deities.

Line 64. ✠ is the abbreviation for parts of *χρῖω* and cognate words; here the full word is *ενχριε* or *ενχρισον*. It is also found for other words beginning with *χρ*.

Line 67. The symbol at the end of the line perhaps stands for *μετρητής*.

Line 69. *πακτων*: a light wicker-work boat, apparently much like a coracle, used on the Nile (Strabo).

Lines 70-95. A spell for discovery of a thief.

Line 72. *τοιχῶ*: a line over the last letter of a word is commonly used in this papyrus to indicate a final *ν*, especially at the end of a line.

Line 74. A space is left before the last five letters of this and the following line.

Line 77. *π^α τ^λ*: Goodwin explains this as *παράδδς τὸν κλέπτην*.

και ξηρον και πασαν τροφην ε
 πακουσον μου εγω ειμι αγγελος
 του φαπρω οσοροννωφρις του
 115 το εστιν σου το ονομα το αληθινον
 το παραδιδομενον τοις προφητ

(Col. 2, *vers.*).

ιστραηλ επακουσον μου αρ[βα]
 θιαω ρειβεταθελεβερσηθ α . .
 βλαθα . ^λαβενεβενφι . ^χχιτασση ^γιβ . .
 120 θιαω . εισακουσον μου και αποστρεψο[ν]
 το δαιμονιον τουτο επικαλουμαι σε
 τον εν τω κενω πνευματι δεινων
 και αορατον θεον . αρογογοροβραω
 σοχον . μοδοριω . ^{αρ}φαλαρχαω . οοο
 125 απε . ακεφαλε απαλλαξον τον ρ " "
 απο του συνεχοντος αυτον δαιμον
 >ρουβριαω μαριωδαμ . βαλβινα
 βαωθ . ασσαδωναι . αφνιαιω . ι[αω]
 θωληθ . αβρασαξ . αηων . ισχυρε
 130 ακεφαλε απαλλαξον τον ρ απο του
 συνεχοντος αυτον δαιμονος μα
 βαρραϊω ιωηλ κοθα αθορηβα
 λω . αβραωθ . απαλλαξον τον ρ
 αωθ . αβαωθ βασυμ ισак σαβαωθ
 135 ιαω ουτος εστιν ο κυριος των θεων
 ουτος εστιν ο κυριος της οικουμεν,
 ουτος εστιν ον οι ανεμοι φοβοντι
 ουτος εστιν ο ποιησας φωνην προσ
 ταγματι εαυτου παντακυριε βασι
 140 λευ δυναστα βοηθε σωσον ψυχη
 ιεου πυρ ιου πυρ ιαωτ ιαηω
 ιο ου αβρασαξ σαβριαμι οο υν ευ
 οο υν αδωναι ηδεεδυ ^{εευ}αγγελος
 του θεου ανλαλα λαϊ γαϊα απα
 145 διαχαννα χορυν . εγω ειμι ο ακε

Line 117. *αρβαθιαω* is a word which occurs several times in these papyri; *e.g.* ll. 352, 479. It appears to be a combination of the two words *αρβαθ* = the Four, a tetrad important in the theology of Marcus, and *ιαω*, which occurs repeatedly as the Greek version of the Hebrew name of the Deity.

Line 124. *σοχον*: W., *σοχορ*.

Line 125. ρ: the regular symbol in these papyri for *δεῖνα*. It is not clear what the letters *τι* (or possibly *γι*) in the margin represent.

Line 134. *αωθ*: not *αωε*, as W. reads.

Line 137. *ον οι ανεμοι*: W. reads *ο νοιαν εμοι*, misled by the fact that after the first ο the writer has begun the word *κυριος* (from the analogy of the preceding lines), but has erased it.

Line 145. *εγω ειμι, κ.τ.λ.*: it is common in these incantations to find the person using them assuming the character of some deity, as though thereby to overawe and assert authority over the power invoked; *cf.* l. 236.

φαλος δαιμων εν τοις ποσιν εχω
 την ορασιν ισχυρος το πυρ
 το αθανατον εγω ειμι η αληθεια
 ο μεισων αδικηματα γευνεσθαι
 150 εν τω κοσμω εγω ειμι ο αστραπτω

(Col. 3, rect.)

και βροντων εγω ειμι ου εστιν
 ο ιδρωσ ομβρος επιπειπτων ε
 πι την γην ινα οχενη εγω ειμι
 ου το στομα καιεται δι ολου εγω
 155 ειμι ο γεννων και απογενω
 εγω ειμι η χαρις του αιωνος ονο
 μα μοι καρδια περιεζωσμενη ο
 φιν εξελθε και ακολουθησον
 τελετη της προκειμενης ποιησε
 160 γραψας τα ονοματα εις καινον χαρ ψα
 τριον και διατεινας απο κροτα
 φου εις κροταφον σεαυτου εντυγ
 χανε προς βορεαν τοις ξ ονομα
 σι λεγων υποταξον μοι παντα
 165 τα δαιμονια ινα μοι ην υπηκο
 ος πας δαιμων ουρανιος και αι
 θεριος και επιγειος και υπογειος
 και χερσαιο[ς] και ενυδρος και
 πασα επιπομπη και μαστιξι
 170 θεου και εσται σοι τα δαιμονια πα
 τα υπηκοα εστω δε το αγαθον
 ζωδιον: 7 αλ κλεπτην πιασαι
 α

Ερμην σε καλω θεον αθανα
 τον ος κατ Ολυμπον αυλακα τε
 175 μνεις βαρυθ ιερην φωσφορ
 ιαω ο μεγας αιωνοβειος φρικτος
 μεν ιδειν φρικτος δε ακροασθαι
 παραδος φωρ ον ζητω αβεραμεν

Line 146. Cf. Pap. cxvii. col. 3, τον ακεφαλον θεον . . . παρα
 τοις ποσιν εχοντα την ορασιν.

Line 151. At the head of this column are inserted three lines
 of smaller writing :

αιη αιωι . . . ιαη αι ιω ωη αιουνεω
 ιωη οαν αση υ ωνω + γρ μη ψηφθ ρφθ
 το εν τη αγια ζωπυρησει του καθαρου γρ μη ζηουκιστουμ

Lines 172-201. A charm to catch a thief. πιάσαι means
 simply "to lay hold of," as in the N.T., not "to compel to
 confess," as Goodwin renders it. αλ: i.e. another charm or
 incantation.

Line 178. αβεραμενω: this word occurs several times in
 the *Pistis Sophia* as an appellation of the Lord Jesus.

- 180 θω ουλερθε ξεναξ̄ σονελυσωθνεμαρεβα
 ουτος ο λογος επι του καθαρμου
 λεγεται β̄: λογος του αρτοτυρου
 ερχου μοι λισσων ματερναμαν
 ερτη πρεπτεκτιουν ιντικι
 ους ολοκοτους περικλυσαι το απο
 185 λομενον αγαγης μοι και τον κλε
 πτην εμφανη ποιησαι εν τη

(Col. 3, *vers.*)

- σημερον ημερα επικαλουμαι
 δε Ερμην κλεπτων ευρετην
 και ηλιον και ηλιον κορας αθε
 190 μιστων πραγματων δυο φωταγω
 γους και θεμιν και ερεινυν και
 Αμμωνα και παραμμωνα επι
 κρατησαι την του φωρος καταπο
 σιν και εμφανη θειναι εν τη ση
 195 μερον ημερα εν τη αρτι ωρα
 ποιησις ο αυτος λογος επι του κα
 θαρμου λαβων αγγος καλλαϊνῶ
 βαλε ὕδωρ και ζ̄ και κυνοκεφαλ̄
 βοτ̄ και εμβρεχων κλαδον δαφνης
 200 ενα εκαστον αποκαθαιρων λ̄ τρι
 ποδα επιθες επιθες βωμον γείνῶ
 — Ερμου δακτυλιος κανθαρου
 ποιησις λαβων κανθαρου
 γεγλυμμενον ως ὑπογεγραπται
 205 επι πατυρινης τραπέζης θες και
 ὑποθες ὑπο την τραπέζαν σιν
 δονα καθαραν και ελαῖνα ὑποστρω
 σας και εις το μεσον της τραπέζης
 μικρον θυμιατηριον και επιθυσας
 210 ζ̄ κοιφι εστω δε σοι παρεσκευασμε

Line 179. The last letters smaller and rather buddled.

Line 194. *εμφανη θειναι*: W. prints these as one word with the comment "sic," apparently taking it as a form of *ἐμφανθῆναι*.

Line 197. *καλλαῖνον*: a various form of *καλαῖνον*, the *kalais* being a precious stone of greenish hue. Green was always a favourite colour with the magicians, emeralds and other green stones being commonly used for talismans and magical seals.

Line 198. *ζ̄*: i.e. *ζύρνα*, myrrh, a common ingredient in magical compounds. *κυνοκεφαλ(ιον) βοτ(ανη)*: a herb mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxx. 2) as employed for magical purposes.

Line 200. *λ̄*: this sign appears to be a λ with an additional line, and to be an abbreviation of *λαβέ*.

Line 201. The sense is broken off here, and Goodwin points out that it is continued in l. 293, where the syllable *νον* is repeated, and the directions concluded.

Lines 202–292. A spell to enforce a god to give the invoker supernatural knowledge of the past and future, and of the thoughts of men. The title means "The ring of Hermes and the preparation of the beetle," which are parts of the machinery of the spell.

Line 204. *ως ὑπογεγραπται*: in ll. 227 *seq.*

Line 210. *κοιφι*: the name of the Egyptian incense, for the making of which there are several recipes in existence.

- νον σκευαριον καλλαῖνον μικρῶ
 εις ο ενετω μυρον κρινινον η
 ζμυρνινον η κωναμωμινον
 και λαβων τον δακτυλιον θες εις το
 215 μυρον προαγενυσας απο παντῶ
 και επιθυσας τω θυμιατηριω το κοι
 φι και ζ' εασον ημερας γ̄ και λ' απο
 θου εν τοπω καθαρω παρακεισθω
 σαν επι της τελετης αρτοι καθαρει
 220 οι και οσα ακμαζει των οπαρων
 ποιησας δε αλλην θυσιαν επι ξυ
 λων αμπελινων περι την θυσιᾶ

(Col. 4, *rect.*)

- επαρον τον δακτυλιον απο του
 μυρου και περιτιθεσο το δε χρεημα
 225 το απ αυτου χρειον κατα πρωῒ και
 στας προς ανατολας ηλιου λεγε τα
 υπογεγραμμενα γλυμμα κανθαῤ
 εις λιθον σμαραγδον πολυτελη
 γλυψον κανθαρων και τρησας διει
 230 ρον χρυσω εις δε το ὑποκατω του κᾶ
 θαρου γλυψον Ἰσιν ἱεραν και τελε
 σας ως προγεγραπται χρω . ημε
 ραι εν αις δει ποιειν απο ανατο
 λης ζ̄ θ̄ ῑ ιβ̄ ιδ̄ ις̄ κᾱ κδ̄ κε̄ ταις
 235 δε αλλαις επεχε· λογος λεγο^α προς
 ηλιον εγω ειμι θωυθ φαρμακων
 και γραμματων ευρετης και κτι
 στης ελθε μοι ο ὑπο γην εγειρε μοι
 ο μεγας δαιμων ο φνοννοχθονιος
 240 η οι νοννοχθονιοι εγω ειμι ηρων ε̄
 δοξος ων ἱβews ων ἱερακος ζω
 ον φοινικος αεροφοιτητου εχων
 υπο την γλωσσαν το τελμα του ε̄μ̄
 την δοραν του κεφ̄ περιβεβλημαι

Line 212. κρινινον: part of the second letter is lost, but it is certainly a ρ, and κρινινος is a far more probable word than κοινινος, which W. reads.

Line 228. σμαραγδον: cf. note on l. 197.

Lines 232-5. A list of the days auspicious for the use of this spell.

Line 233. δει: W. has accidentally omitted this word.

Line 236. The invoker assumes, in virtue of his magic power, the name of the god Thoth.

Line 239. ο φνοννοχθονιος κ. τ. λ.: Goodwin explains these

words, but wrongly, taking the Coptic word νουν (φ being the masculine article) to mean "abyss." The word is in fact derived from the Egyptian *nn*, which means (1) the sky, (2) the watery mass out of which the gods and other beings were formed. Here the meaning of the whole passage seems to be "the great god of the nether sky." One would not expect to find a plural to νουν, except as denoting (as often in Egyptian) increased reverence. It is possible that the words should be divided differently, ο φνονν ο χθονιος η οι νουν ο[ι] χθονιοι.

- 245 εαν μη γνω τα εν ταις ψυχαις απ̄
των αιγυπτιων ελληνων συρων
αιθιοπων παντος τε γενους και
παντος εθνους εαν μεν γνω τα
γεγονοτα και τα μελλοντα εσεσθαι
250 εαν μη γνω τας τεχνας αυτων και
τα επιτηδευματα και τας εργασι
ας και τους βιους και τα ονοματα
αυτων και πατερων αυτων και μη
τερων και αδελφων και φιλων και
255 των τετελευτηκοτων κατασπεισω
το αιμα του μελανος κυνωτου εις
καινην κυθραν ασυη και επιθη
σω επι καινον κυθροποδα και ὕπο
καυσω οστα εσιηους και κεκραξο

(Col. 4, vers.)

- 260 μαι εν τω Βουσειρι ορμω τον
δε εν ποταμω μειναντα ημε
ρας γ̄ νυκτας γ̄ τον εσιη τον ενε
χθεντα εν τω ρευματι του ποταμου
εις την θαλασσαν τον περιεχομε
265 νον ὕπο των της θαλασσης κυ
ματων και ὕπο την του αερος νε
φελην ὕπο των ἰχθυων σου η κοι
λια κατεσθεται και το σωμα ου μη
παυσω τους ἰχθυας τοις στομασι μα
270 σωμενους ουδε μην κλεισουσι οι ἰ
χθυες το στομα αφελουμαι τον απα
τορα απο της μητρος κατενεχθη
σεται ο πολος και τα δυο ορη ενεσται
επαφησω ανοξιν εφ υμας και ο
275 θελει ποιησει ου μη εασω ουτε θε
ον ουτε θεον χρηματιζειν εως ο
τε εγω ο ἄ διαγνω τα εν ταις ψυχαις

Line 245. The following lines are a series of threats on the part of the invoker (who in l. 236 claims to speak in the name and with the power of Thoth), directed against the invoked deity in case he fails to fulfil his wishes. Such threats were part of the regular stock in trade of the Egyptian magician, in contrast to the Chaldaean.

Line 248. *μεν* : apparently a slip for *μη*.

Line 256. *κυνωτου* : "the dog-eared" ; but possibly a slip for *κυνώπου*, "dog-faced" being a common appellation.

Line 257. *κυθραν* : Ion. for *χυτραν*.

Line 259. *εσιηους* : not *εσινους*, as W. reads. The word

seems to recur in the accusative in l. 262.

Line 260. *τον . . μειναντα*, κ.τ.λ. : referring to the legend of Osiris (Goodwin) ; which makes it appear that the word *εσιης* must be some name or attribute of Osiris.

Line 266. *την . . νεφελην* : bad grammar for *της . . νεφελης*.

Line 271. *στομα* : corrected from *σωμα*.

Line 273. *τα δυο ορη* : the two mountain chains on either side of the Nile, the approximation of which would annihilate Egypt (Goodwin).

Line 276. *θεον* : apparently a mistake for *θεαν*.

- 280 απαντων ανθρωπων αιγυπτιων
 συρων ελληνων αιθιοπων παν
 τος γενους και εθνους των επερω
 τωντων με και κατ οψιν μοι ερχο
 μενων και λαλουντων και σιω
 πωντων οπως αυτοις εξαγγει
 λω τα προγεγονοτα αυτοις και ε
 285 εστωτα και τα μελλοντα αυτοις ε
 σεσθαι και γνω τας τεχνας αυτω
 και τους βιους και τα επιτηδευ^α
 και τα εργα και τα ονοματα αυτω
 και των τεθνεωτων και παντω
 290 και αναγνω επιστολην εσφραγισ^α
 και απαγγειλω αυτοις παντα εξ
 αληθειας
 νον επιθυε ζ^ο και λ'ιβανον
 και γλωτταν βατραχου και λα

(Col. 5, *rect.*)

- 295 βων σελιγνιον αναλον και τυ
 ρον αιγιον διδου εκαστω σελι
 γνιου <η τυρου <η επιλεγων
 τον εξης λογον επιγραφε δε του
 το το ονομα και υποκολλησον τω
 300 τριποδι· δεσποτα ιαω φωσφο
 ρε παραδος φωρον ον ζητω·
 εαν δε τις αυτων μη καταπιη
 το δοθεν αυτω αυτος εστιν ο κλειψας
 λαβων χαρτην ιερατικον η μολυ
 305 βουν πεταλον και σιδηρουν κρι
 κον θες επι τον χαρτην τον κρικω
 και εσωθεν και εξωθεν αιρε τυπον του
 κρικου τω καλαμω ειτα ζ^ο την περιφε
 ριαν ειτα γραψον εις την περιφερειā
 310 του κρικου εις τον χαρτην επιγραφω

Lines 293-303. This is the conclusion of the instructions how to detect a thief which were broken off at l. 201. The method employed, that of giving the suspected persons a prepared cake or draught, is referred to by Horace, *Ep.* I. x. 10, "Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso."

Line 295. σελιγνιον : for σιλιγνιον, = spring wheat.

Line 297. < = drachma.

Lines 304-309. An elaborate charm, of general application. A translation of it is given in King's *Gnostics*, pp. 242-244.

Line 308. ζ^ο : here for the verb, ζυμνίζε, instead of the substantive, as in ll. 198, 293, etc.

το ονομα τους δε χαρακ' εξωθεν ει
 τα ο θελεις εξωθεν μη γενεσθαι και
 οτι καταδεθτω αυτου η φρονησις
 315 επι τω μη ποιησαι το ἅ πραγμα ειτα
 θεις τον κρικον επι την αυτου περι
 φερειαν ην εποιησας και ανελομε
 νος τα εξω της περιφερειας εινας
 καταραπτε τον κρικον εως κατακα
 λυφη κεντων κατα των χαρακτηρω
 320 τω καλαμω και δεσμενων λεγε

καταδεσμευω τον ἅ προς το ἅ μη
 λαλησατω μη αντισπατω μη αν
 τειπατω μη μοι δυναιτο αντιβλε
 325 ψαι η αντιλαλησαι ὑποτεταγμε
 νος δε μοι ητω εφ' οσον ουτος ο κρι
 κος κεχωσται καταδεσμευω δε αν
 του τον νουν και τας φρενας την
 ευθυμησιν τας πραξεις οπως
 330 νωχελης η προς παντας ανθρωπ
 εαν δε τινα και οπως μη γαμηση
 το ἅ η ἅ κοινα —
 ειτα απενεγκας αυτο εις αωρου μνη
 μα ορυξον επι δ δακτυλους και εν

(Col. 5, vers.)

θες και λεγε νεκυδαιμων οστι[s]
 335 ει σε τουτο ει παραδιδωμι σοι τον ἅ ο
 πως μη ποιηση το ἅ πραγμα ειτα
 χωσας απερχου
 κρεισσον δε ποιεις < μιουμενης εστιν δε
 τα γραφο^α εις τον κυκλον ταυτα αροα

Line 312. *εξωθεν* : should be *εσωθεν*, as appears in the diagram accompanying this spell (*cf.* note on l. 357).

Line 320. W. inserts "*ε* (*sic*)" after *δεσμενων* : but the letter, which is undoubtedly a *β*, has been cancelled.

Lines 326-7. Goodwin divides the words wrongly, reading *αὐ τοῦτον νοῦν* : his conjectural emendation is therefore unnecessary.

Line 330. The sense is incomplete.

Line 331. *κοινα* : this word occurs again at the end of the spell inscribed on the ring in the diagram below, and in the Leyden Pap. 65, and frequently elsewhere in magical formulae. Goodwin suggests that it means that the spell is a general one ; King, that it should be spoken in the vulgar (*i.e.* Greek) tongue. *Cf.* note on Pap. cxxii. 31.

Line 332. *αωρου* : one who has died untimely.

Line 333. *επι δ* : *επιθες* was originally written, but the last three letters have been obliterated. W. prints them as if they were still standing.

Line 334. At the top of the column the following two lines are added, in more irregular writing :—

ἱεωβαφρεν[μ]οννοθηλαρικριψι[εν]
 εἰφικριλιθοινομενεφραβωεἰ.

This is the charm inscribed round the circumference of the ring in the diagram below, and which is also found in other Gnostic writings and gems. W. gives one or two letters wrongly. *Cf.* note on l. 357.

Line 335. *σε τουτο ει* : these words appear to be corrupt.

- 340 μαθρα ερεσχιγαλχ . εδαντα . ιαβουνη .
 ακη . ιαω . δαρυνκω . μανηλ .
 μη πραχθητω το ἄ̄ πραγμα εφ̄ οσον
 χρονον κεχωσται ο κρικος ουτος
 καταδησον δεσμοις ποιησας σπαρ
 345 τα και ουτω καταθου ο δε κρικος
 και εις φρεαρ βαλλεται αχρηματιστῶ
 η παρα αωρον μετα δε τους χαρακ̄
 γραφε και ταυτα ὑποκατω του κρικου
 ως πλινθειον . αρχοολ . λαιλαμ .
 350 σεμεσιλαμφ . αμμοφοριων . ιωαη .
 φθουθ . εωφρη ο μεγαistos δαιμων
 ιαω σαβαωθ αρβαθιαω λαιλαμ
 οσορνωφρι εμφρη φρη φθα χρωιω
 ιαω βαβουρη θιμαμενφρη ρε
 355 νουσι σαβαωθ βαρβαθιαω θαχρα
 ουχεεθ εσορνωφρι και τον ν̄θ̄ ολῶ ᾱ
 ον και εσω ποιεις

(Col. 6, rect.)

- [η] δε αυτη οικονομια γραφεται επι
 μολυβου πεταλου και ενθεις τον
 360 κρικον περιπτυξας γνψισον μετα
 δε το ὑποκατω πλινθιον και το ιαεω
 ὁ̄ και ταυτα βακαξιχυχ̄ μενεβα

Line 340. μαθρα : W. ναθρα.

Line 349. λαιλαμ = for ever (Hebrew).

Line 350. σεμεσιλαμφ : in l. 366 this is given in the form σεμεσιλαμ ; in the latter form or in that of σεμες ειλαμ it is a common attribute of the deity called ιαω and αβρασαξ, and means "the Eternal Sun."

Line 352. These four names are found elsewhere as expressing the Supreme Deity, and are all Hebrew words.

Line 356. τον ν̄θ̄ ολῶ : a reference to the two lines written at the top of the column ; there is a sort of arrow in the margin here, corresponding to one beside the two lines in question, showing that this is their place. The letters ᾱ in the margin stand for ἀνά, i.e. "see above." What τον ν̄θ̄ ολῶ (i.e. ὅλον) means is not quite clear. As it stands its meaning would be "the whole of the 59th," and probably we should supply the word "charm," and take it to refer to some text-book or collection of such spells.

Line 357. Here follows a diagram in the MS. for which reference must be made to the photograph. It represents the κρικος or ring, with the following inscription written on its circumference : ἱαεωβαφρενεμονοθιλαρικριφιαεαεαφικριλιθοννο-μενερφαβωαι κοινα. Outside the ring are inscribed some mystic

symbols, and within it the following words:

αροαμαθρα
 ερεσχιγαλφεδανιανι
 ιαβουνη κανηιαω
 δαρυνκω μανηλ
 μη γενεσθω ο βουλομαι
 μη γαμειτω η ἄ̄ εις τον
 απαντα χρονον

The charm inscribed on the circumference of the ring is also written at the top of the column (cf. note on l. 334), and is likewise met with on several gems : cf. King, pp. 249, 250. Omitting the word κοινα, which has been inserted in small and rather huddled letters, the rest reads the same in either direction, a well-known characteristic of magic charms.

The charm written within the ring is that given in ll. 339-341 above, but with the variation of a few letters. The letters at the end of the third line within the ring are blotted and confused, and the last two are written above the preceding ones, for want of space.

Line 362. ὁ̄ : for λόγον, as elsewhere. μενεβα : not μενειβα, as W. reads.

- ἴχνη αβρασαξ̄ αὖ κατασχεῖς το
 ἧ̄ πραγμα· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐθεντι
 365 κῶ εὐρεθῇ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀρφόολ
 λαίλαμ σεμεσίλαμ ιαεὼ ὁ βακα
 ξίχνη αβρασαξ̄ αὖ ἀρχωμίλακ
 μενεσίλαμ ιαεὼ οὖα βακαξίχνη
 αβρασαξ̄ ὡι κατασχεῖς το ἧ̄ πραγμα
- 370 λαβὼν φύλλα δαφνῆς ἐνκαρ^δ κῆ
 καὶ γῆς παρ^θ καὶ ἀρτεμισίας σπερ^α
 ἀλευ^ρ καὶ κυνοκε^φ τοῦ χορτοῦ ἀκηκοα
 δὲ παρὰ ἡρακλεοπολιτ^ε τίνος ὅτι λαμ
 βανεῖ ἀπο ε^λ ἀρτι βλαστ^τ τοῦ δένδρου
 375 κομισ^θ τοῦ ἐντος ὅν κῆ ὕπο παιδὸς
 ἀφθόρου βασταζέται συνλιούνται τοῖς
 προκει^α καὶ ὑγρὸν ὡς ἱβέως εἰς ὀλῶ
 το φύραμα καὶ π^λ Ερ^α χλαμυδηφόρου
 ε^ε οὐσῆς ἀνατο^λ ἐν κρείῳ ἡ λεοντὶ ἡ
 380 παρ^θ ἡ τοξο^τ κατεχετῶ δὲ ὁ Ερμῆς
 κηρυκίον καὶ γραψὼν τὸν ὁ εἰς χαρ^τ
 ἱερατικὸν καὶ εἰς φύσαν χηνεῖαν
 καθὼς πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ ἡρακλεοπολι^τ
 καὶ ἐνθες εἰς τὸ ζῶ^δ ἐνπνευματώσεως
 385 εἰνεκεν καὶ ὅταν βου^λ ✕ λαβὼν χαρ^τ
 γραψὼν τὸ ὁ καὶ τὸ Ϟ καὶ ἀποκειράμε
 νος ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου τριχὰ συνελίξῃ
 τῷ χαρτῇ δησας ἀμμάτι φοινικίνῳ
 καὶ ἐξῶθεν αὐτοῦ κλάδον ἐλαίας καὶ
 390 θες πρὸς τοὺς ποδάς τοῦ ζῆ οἱ δὲ λεγόν
 σι αὐτῷ ἐπιθες κεισθῶ δὲ τὸ ζῶδιον
 ἐν ναῷ φιλυρινῷ ὅταν δὲ βουλή ✕
 πρὸς κεφαλῆς σου τίθῃ τὸν ναόν

Lines 370-439. A means for procuring an oracular response, apparently in a dream, as the person using it is directed to lie down to sleep after repeating the invocation.

Line 370. *ἐνκαρ^δ*: the word is used of the core of wood; here apparently of the inside leaves. *κῆ* is the numeral 28.

Line 371. *αρτεμισία*: this herb, a kind of wormwood, is mentioned as an ingredient in several charms.

Line 372: *κυνοκε^φ*: the herb *κυνοκεφάλιον*, mentioned above, l. 198.

Line 374. *ε^λ*: *i.e.* ἐλαίας. What follows is perhaps one word, ἀρτιβλάστου, rather than for ἀρτι βλαστησάσης, as Goodwin gives it.

Line 378. *π^λ Ερ^α*: *i.e.* πλάσμα Ἑρμοῦ. It is not clear why W. appends the word *sic* to the form χλαμυδηφόρου.

Line 380. *κατεχετῶ*: corrected from *κατεχεταί*.


Line 382. *εἰς φύσαν χηνεῖαν*: Goodwin quotes Origen as mentioning the employment by the conjurers of his day of windpipes of cranes, storks, *etc.*, as tubes for conveying sound. The windpipe of a goose is here apparently to be inserted into the figure of Hermes in order to produce sounds therefrom.

Line 385. ✕: here apparently for *χρηματίζειν*, or possibly *χρῆσθαι*.

Line 386. *το*: should be *τον*, unless *δ* stands for *λεγόμενον*. *Ϟ* apparently stands for *πρῶγμα*.

Line 390. *ζῆ*: Goodwin takes this as a representation of the caduceus, which was wreathed with serpents; and so it might stand for Hermes himself.

(Col. 6, vers.)

- 395 συν τω θεω και διωκε επιθυω[ν]
 λιβανον επι βωμου και γην απ[ο]
 στειφορου χωριου και βωλον αλος
 αμμωνιακου ᾧ κεισθω προς κε
 φαλην σου και κοιμω μετα το ει
 πειν μηδενι δους αποκρισιν·
 400 Ερμη κοσμοκρατωρ ενκαρδιε κυ
 κλε σεληνης· στρουγυλε και τε
 τραγωνε λογων αρχηγετα γλωσσης·
 πειθο δικαιοσυνη χλαμυδηφορε
 πτηνοπεδειλε· αιθεριον δρομο
 405 ειλίσσων ὑπο τε ταρταρα γαιης·
 πνευματ' ηνιοχε  οφθαλμε μεγαριστ[ε·]
 παμφωνον γλωττης αρχηγετα
 λαμπασι τερπων· τους ὑπο ταρ
 ταρα γαιης τέ βροτους βιον εκτελε
 410 σαντας· μοιρων προγνωστης συ
 λεγη και θειος ονειρος ημερινους
 νυκτερινους χρησmons επιπεμ
 πων εισαι παντα βροτων αλγημα
 τα σαις θεραπειαις δευρο μακαρ μνη
 415 μης τελεσιφρονος νιε μεγαριστε ση
 μορφη ἵλαρος τε φανηθι ἵλαρος τ επι
 τειλον ανθρωπω οσιω μορφη· τ ἵλα
 ρον επιτειλον εμοι τω ᾧ οφρα τε
 μαντοσυναις ταις σαις αρεταισι λαβοι

Line 394. διωκε: Goodwin renders "conjure." It is common in the directions for incantation in these papyri, generally in the phrase διώκε τὸν λόγον, meaning "recite," or more literally, perhaps, "pursue the recital of the formula."

Lines 400-419. A hexameter hymn to Hermes, of the same character as the Orphic hymns. It occurs again in Pap. cxxi.; and the papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains others of the same nature. The metre requires emendation in several places, and the text appears to be very corrupt.

Line 400. ενκαρδιε κυκλε σεληνης: Goodwin notices that the Egyptian deity Thoth, with whom Hermes was identified, is called "Lord of the Moon" (cf. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii., plate xxxvi).

Line 402. γλωσσης: as the phrase γλωττης αρχηγετα recurs below, W. suggests that it is corrupt here. The following lines are largely re-written by him into what is a possible original version of the hymn; but it involves a good deal of re-arrangement of the words. Meanwhile it is worth suggesting that πειθο may be meant to be the vocative of πειθω, and γλωσσης-a genitive depending on it.

Line 405. ὑπο τε: the τε is fatal to the metre, and must be expunged, though the sense is not improved thereby. It is not present in the version in Pap. cxxi.

Line 406. This line is palpably corrupt; W.'s emendation is ἥλιον ἡνιοχῶν κόσμου τ' ὀφθαλμέ μέγιστε.

Line 408. Something is missing here, the accusative τους . . βροτους being without construction. The metre could be emended simply, by substituting γης for γαιης; but that does not help the construction. These invocatory hymns were probably apt to be repeated without much attention to the sense, merely as a spell.


Line 411. Supply και at end of line, *metri gratia*.

Line 413. βροτων: not βροτων, as W. gives it, which of course ruins the metre. For παντα we should probably read τα, for the benefit of the scansion.

Line 416. φανηθι: the ι should be elided, *metri gratia*.

Line 418. εμοι τω ᾧ: should be in brackets, as a sort of gloss on ανθρωπω οσιω, the name of the person using the invocation being inserted.

Line 419. μαντοσυναις: should be μαντοσύνας or μαντοσύνης.

- 420 μι δεομαι κυριε ἵλεως μοι γενου
 και αψευδως μοι φανεις ✠
 διωκε και προς ανατολας  και ε
 στηλη εν τοις χαρτεσι γραφομενη
 του ζω³ νεσεννιγαδων ορθω βαν
 425 βω νοη οδηρε σοιρε σοιρε σαν
 κανθαρα ερεσχιγαλ σανκιστη
 δωδεκακιστη ακρουροβορε κοδηρε
 σημεα κεντευ κοντευ κεντευ

(Col. 7, *rect.*)

- [κηριδ]εν δαρνγκω λυκυνξυντα
 430 αμπυχρη ἱρωνωτον λουμανατα
 . . ον κομανδρον χρειβαχα νουβα
 . . α νουμιλλον ερουφι τετρουφι
 ιβινου νουμιλλον χανδαρα τον
 [φ]ερφερεν δρουηρ μαρουηρ γ̄ ειτα
 435 ο κοινοσ λογος επαναγκος
 ουκρα νουκρα πεῖρινοδε τμαισια
 φοβερομματα δρυσταλπιψ βλεμεν
 νιθεν βανδυοδα τριψαδα αριβα
 τα κραταρνα ειτα το ρ̄ γρ̄ ζζ □
 440 αλλη ἱου κραιωνιου προς τον λυχνῶ
 λεγο^α ωχμαρμαχω τον νουραῖ χρη
 μιλλον δερκων νιαιαω σουμψη
 φισον σουμψηνις σιασια σιαω ο σει
 σας την οικουμενην εισελθε και χρη
 445 ματισον περι του ἁ πραγματος θοις
 κοτοθ φθουφνουν νουεβουη
 επι ασπαχατου λ γ̄^λ σαραπιν προκα
 θη^α εχοντα βασιλιον ζζ αιγυπτιον και
 επι του σκηπτρου ἱβω οπισθε του λι^ο
 450 το ονομα και κατακλεισας εχε επι με

Line 420. W. rewrites this and the following line into hexameter metre, but unnecessarily.

Line 421. ✠ : *i.e.* χρημάτιζε.

Line 423. χαρτεσι : W. gives χαρτεσι, presumably a misprint.

Line 428. κεντευ : W. reads κεμτευ and κενγευ ; but as Goodwin says that the seven words in this and the next line are found on some Gnostic gems, presumably the latter confirm the reading given in the text, which is the same as Goodwin's. The fourth letter in the last word is however more like a γ than a τ.

Line 429. δαρνγκω : δ originally written κ.

Line 434. The first letter is partly lost ; W. gives β.

Line 439. το ρ̄ γρ̄ ζζ □ : Goodwin suggests ἱερογραφικόν for ρ̄ γρ̄ ; the rest will run Ἑρμοῦ (*cf.* note on l. 390) ὄνομα, a square being a common symbol for the latter word in these documents.

Lines 440-458. A space equal to three or four lines is left before the beginning of this section, which contains directions for another spell for procuring oracular responses during sleep.

Line 445. θοις : the last two letters are partly lost ; W. gives θοτο, Goodwin θοιο.

Line 447. λ γ̄^λ : *i.e.* λαβὲ γεγλυμμένον.

Line 448. ζζ : this symbol must here stand for "sceptre" ; see note on l. 390.

- της χρειας κρατει τη αριστερα σου τον
 δακτυ^λ τη δε δεξια σου κλαδον ελαι
 ας και δαφνης κατασειων τω λυχνω
 αμα λεγων τον λογον ζ̄ και ειρας
 455 αυτον εις τον ἴδιον της αριστερας
 σου χειρος δακτυλον εσω βλεποντα
 και ου^τ κολλησας τον λιθον τω αριστε
 ρω σου ωτιω κοιμω αναποκριτος απε^χ
 λ
 α επικαλουμαι σε τον κτισαντα
 460 γην και οστα και πασαν σαρκα και
 παν πνευμα και τον στησαντα

(Col. 7, vers.)

- την θαλασσαν και σαλε[υσαντα]
 τον ουρανον ο χωρισας το φω[ς α]
 πο του σκοτους ο μεγας νους εν[νο]
 465 μος ο το παν διοικων αιωνοφθα[λ]
 μος δαιμων δαιμονων θεος θ[ε]
 ων ο κυριος των πνευματων ο α
 πλανητος αιων ιαω ουηι εισα
 κουσον μου της φωνης επικαλου
 470 μαι σε τον δυναστην των θεων
 υψιβρεμετα Ζευ Ζευ τυραννε α
 δαιναι κυριε ιαω ουηε εγω ειμι
 ο επικαλουμενος σε συριστι θεον
 475 μεγαν ζααλαηρ ιψφου και συ μη
 παρακουσης της φωνης εβραϊστι
 αβλαναθαναλβα αβρασιλβα εγω
 γαρ ειμι σιλθαχωνυχ λαιλαμ βλα
 σαλωθ ιαω ιεω νεβουθ σαβιοθαρ
 βωθ αρβαθιαω ιαωθ σαβαωθ πα
 480 τουρη ζαγουρη βαρουχ αδωναι
 ελωαι ιαβρααμ βαρβαρανω ναν
 σιφ υψηλοφρоне αιωνοβιε κοσμου
 το διαδημα παντος κατεχων σιεπη

Line 455. τον ἴδιον: cf. Goodwin's note; the Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαίοι were mythical personages, supposed to have invented iron-working, and also to be magicians; hence the name seems to be applied here to one of the fingers. αριστερας: W. αριστερος, presumably a misprint.

Line 458. απε^χ: not απε^λ, as W. reads. Possibly for ἀπέχει, in sense of "it is sufficient," or "it is finished."

Lines 459-489. An invocation of the Creator of the world: useful, as the last two lines state, for loosening fetters, procuring invisibility, causing dreams, creating favour, and in fact for anything that may be desired. Hebrew names and forms are especially used in it.

Line 477. θλασλωθ: the second letter is blotted, and may be α, as W. reads.

485 σακτιετη βιου = σφη = νουσι =
 σιεθο = χθεωνιριγγ ωηαηωλ
 α ωηιαω ασιαλ σαραπηολσω
 εθμουρησινι σεμ λαν λου λουριγγ
 πεδας λνει αμαυροι ονειροπομπει
 χαριτησιον κοινα εφ ο θελεις

Line 485. The λ is apparently written over an ω.

Line 487. λαν : not λαο, as W. reads.

PAPYRUS XLVII.—2nd cent.

THE following document is an invocation to Apollo for assistance. It is unfortunately much mutilated at the beginning, but its general character is quite ascertainable. It contains very little of the non-Greek element which is found in so many of these papyri; on the other hand, a relatively large proportion of it is in metre. There are evident fragments of a hymn to Apollo, which is also found in one of Parthey's Berlin papyri; and there is a quotation from the address of Chryses to Apollo in the first book of the Iliad.

The text has been published by Wessely along with that of the preceding papyrus.

The papyrus is a single sheet, measuring 13½ inches by 6½, besides a piece of blank margin, 2¼ inches wide, which may have belonged to it. The upper left-hand quarter of the sheet is lost, and the rest is in several pieces, with some lacunæ. The writing is uncial, probably of the 2nd century, in a regular hand and rather faint ink.

. σ]υστασις αυτου προς β η δε κλησις αυτη
 πληθουσης αμεινον δε εν τη ανατολη
 συστασιν ποιησης τη . . της θεου προσθε
 δου λεγε ουν προς ανατελλοντα
 5 ν [ε]υχων
 δαφνη μαντοσυνης] ιερων φυτον Απολλωνος
 Φ]οιβος στεφθεις τε κλαδοισι
 κεφαλην κομοωσαν εθειραις
 ον σαις παλαμαισι τινασσων
 10 ησι πολυπτυχου νη[λοι]ο
 εοις θεσπιζε βροτοισι
 λοστονος αυτος Απο[λλ]ων
 η παρθεν[ε] δειντε

Line 1. β: the reading is very doubtful, owing to a crack in the papyrus.

Line 3. A letter is lost after τη: W. reads της before the lacuna, but the s is not visible.

Line 7. στεφθεις τε: W. στεφθεντα.

Line 8. In the margin opposite this line and the next are the

words ποιησις, αυτ[η], in a fainter ink and different hand. It is uncertain whether they apply to the text of this column or to what may have followed in the next.

Line 13. There appear to be some remains of an ε and δ after the ν.

- μων ἱεροισι π . . . λοις
 15 λον εμαιο μετ[α χε]ρσιν εχοντι
 πε]μψον μαντευμ[α τ]ε σεμνον
 σαφηνισι φοιβη[τηρ]α
 τε και ως τετελε[σμε]νον εσται
 ν εχω . . περ[ι . . . α]ζω
 20 δ]αμασα[ν]δρα . . . ανδρα

 αν υπερτατε ωϊ επ
 ωαίω επι παιαν
 ιοευη . . . πολυνυμμε ἴσαν . . . αναρβα Φοιβε
 25 μ]αντοσυναισι[ν επι]ρροθε Φοιβε Απολλ[ων]
 Λ]ητοιδη εκαεργε [θε]οπροπε δευρ αγε δε[υρο]
 δευρ αγε θεσπιζω[ν] μαντευο νυκτος ε[ν ω]ρη
 ειτα λεγε μελετων . . το εη ἱε · ἱε · ἡϊ ἴω . . ἱαωιη · ιη
 ἱα ἱαω ἱαωη . . ουω · ειται προς κατα[δυσ]νη ηλιου εξαιτου παλι
 30 κλυθι μεν αργυρο[τοξ]ε ος Χρυσην αμφιβε[βηκ]ας
 Κιλλαν τε ζαθεν [Τε]νεδοιο τε ιφι ανασσεις
 χρυσοφαη λαί[ψηρ]ε και πυθολετα μεσεγκριφι
 λατωεσιμωθ' σ[αβα]ωθ μελιουχε τυραννε
 πευχρη νυκτε . . . οι τε σεσεπενβαρφαραιης
 35 και αρβεθ' ωιπλ . . ορφεφιλαιμαγε αρβαθιαω
 Σμινθευ ει ποτ[ε τ]οι ^{χαριεντ' επι βωμον ερεψα}κατα πιονα μηρι' ε[κ]ηα
 η ει δη ποτε τοι κ[ατ]α πιονα μηρι' εκηα
 ταυρων ηδ' α[ιγ]ων τοδε μοι κρηνηνυ εελδωρ
 ομοιος και προ[ς] εστιν αυτου συστα[σ]ις ηδε
 40 δαφνη μαντο[σ]ννης ἱερον φυτον Απολλωνος
 δαφνη παρθε[νι]κη δαφνη Φοιβοιο εταιρη σαβαωθ ἱαω αωο
 ἱαγχωθιπυλη . . ουσι αρχας τον υπον

Line 14. W. reads *μενω*.

Line 16. *μψον* : W. *μουν*, but the *ψ* is clear.

Line 17. *φοιβη[τηρ]α* : this filling up seems probable, though the word is otherwise unknown.

Line 20. Cf. Pap. cxxi., l. 696, where several epithets with the termination *ανδρα* occur, one of which should probably be supplied here.

Line 22. *ωϊ* : W. reads *μοϊ*, but the *ω* is, on close inspection, almost certain.

Line 23. *ωαίω* : W. *μιασω*, but the *ε* is certain; the first letter might be *μ*, but is more probably the last portion of an *ω*, the whole being a combination of vowels such as we have again in the next line (where W.'s reading again requires correction) and very frequently in documents of this class.

Line 25. Parthey's 2nd Berlin Papyrus (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Berl.*, 1865), ll. 2-4, gives the same three lines with some variation:

φοιβε μαντοσυναισιν επιρροθος ερχεο χαριων
 Λητοιδη εκαεργε α[πο] τροπε δευρ α[γ]ε δευρο
 δευρ αγε θεσπιζων μαντευο νυκτος εν ωρη.

Line 28. W. gives *ειτα μελετων*, having apparently overlooked

λεγε.

Line 29. *παλι* : not *παῶν*, as W. reads; a line above the end of a word is a common substitute for a final *ν*.

Lines 30-1. *Il.* i. 37-8.

Line 31. *Κιλλαν* : W. reads *Κυλλαν*; the second letter is faint, but it is certainly an *ι*.

Line 32. *λαί[ψηρ]ε και* : W. gives *λαί[λαφ] κ]λυθι*; but the *και* is certain. *λαίψηρος* is found as epithet of Apollo's arrows in *Il.* xxi. 278, and it is the only word beginning with *λαί*-which seems to suit the passage.

Line 34. W. reads *οιτεσεσεγγ* . . . ; he certainly has an *ε*s too many. The last letter but two of the line may be a *γ*.

Line 35. W. reads *ωηα ο*, and ignores the gap.

Lines 36-38. *Il.* i. 39-41. The first line has been written with the termination belonging to the second, and then corrected, reading however *βωμον* instead of *νηον*.

Line 40. This line occurs in Parthey's 2nd Papyrus, l. 81, at the beginning of a hymn of thirty lines to Apollo.

Line 42. The *ς* of *αρχας* is doubtful, and so is the last letter of the line.

δευρο μοι ερχε[ο θ]ασσον επειγομαι αιισασθαι
 θεσμους θεσπ[εσι]ους νυκτι δ' ενι δνοφερη
 45 ρησαβανααλ . . . ανα ανα ανααναααααα . ααα . εστι δε το
 τω Δηλιω τω [υι]ω τω της Δητους κ[αι] Διος χρησμωνδειν π
 ετικα δια νυκτο[ς αλη]θη διηγουμενω [μ]αντικης ονειρατων

Line 45. In this line and the next some letters are perhaps lost from the end.

ονειρατων, which has the merit of forming an iambic line; but there does not seem to be room for τε in the lacuna.

Line 47. W. ends with θηδι ηγουμενω [τε μ]αντικης

On the reverse of the papyrus are a few rough characters:

. . ψιον . .
 λων . . ελαιω εσπα . . ξε/ β̄
 50 χουσας √̄

Line 48. ψιον: W. reads ιωμ.

Line 49. There is a character before ελαιω, which W. reads as τ, but which is more probably σ; the latter part of the line he reads as εσπαρκι ξε/ β̄.

Line 50. W. reads βολων at the beginning of the previous line and ανχουσας here: no trace now remains of the first two

letters in each case, which have either been lost in mounting the papyrus or are merely W.'s conjecture. W. reads the last character but one as another τ, but it is more probably the symbol for "drachma," a similar form being found elsewhere, e.g. in Pap. cxix.

PAPYRUS CXXI.—3rd cent.

THE following is the longest of the magical papyri in the British Museum, though it is not the most interesting. The beginning is lost, and two or three of the earlier columns are in a fragmentary state. But nothing of value is lost thereby, as the first section of the work consists merely of a number of single lines taken, without any regard to sense or on any discernible principle, from the Iliad and Odyssey, arranged and numbered in groups of six, and amounting to 216 (the cube of 6) in all. The rest of the papyrus is of a very miscellaneous character. Some of its contents belong to the class of magical formulæ; others are mere prescriptions and recipes of the kind common to country people of the present day. After the *Ὀμηρομαντία* comes a list of the times of day most favourable for the purpose of divination on each day of the month. Then follow a number of recipes, most of them not professing to be magical. The objects of some of these are amusing and peculiar; among them are prescriptions for clearing houses of bugs and fleas, for making brass look like gold, and for restraining old women from overmuch wine and garrulity. The next section (ll. 186–221) consists of formulæ of a distinctly magical kind, though some are directed to comparatively commonplace purposes, such as the curing of coughs and headaches, like the charms of the "wise men" and "wise women" of our own day. After these are several charms (ll. 222–271) similar to those contained in Pap. XLVI., being more elaborate than the preceding. A list of the days in each month favourable for divination follows, and another of the kinds of divination suitable to the times when the moon is in the several signs of the zodiac (ll. 272–299). Then come a large number of ordinary charms, spells, love-philtres, and the like, several of them being only of a few

lines in length, and presenting few points of special interest. This group extends over the rest of the *recto* of the papyrus (ll. 300-592), comprising twenty-eight charms, and concludes with a diagram of a serpent with his tail in his own mouth, enclosing magical signs and words. The other side contains more writing of the same description, not proceeding continuously with the text on the *recto*, but commencing again at the back of the beginning of the latter. The contents are of the same general character, including love-charms, spells for securing visions, invocations of various deities, and the like. Lines 666-678 contain another version of the hymn to Hermes given in Pap. XLVI. Eighteen prescriptions in all are given, with two designs for inscribed magical plates. The names of Pythagoras and Democritus are mentioned as authors (apparently) of two of the charms described (ll. 168, 793).

The papyrus consists of one long sheet, measuring 7 ft. 8 inches in length and 13 inches in height, besides detached fragments, and written in 19 columns (from the beginning of the fragmentary 'Ομηρομαντία) on the *recto*, and 13 on the *verso*, of which only 10 are in the same hand as that of the *recto*, while both before and after them there are several blank columns. There are about 38 or 40 lines to each column. The writing is a rather cursive uncial, probably of the 3rd century, clear and regular. Marks of elision are generally employed; and a similar mark is sometimes found after οὐκ when followed by a vowel, e.g. ll. 91, 95. It has not been thought necessary to transcribe the detached fragments of the 'Ομηρομαντία, especially as they are completely given in the photographic plate.

	[βςγ υστα]τα και πυματα νυν ε[νθαδε δειπν]ησειαν	Od. iv. 685.
	[βςδ ου χ]ρη παννυχιον [ευδειν βουληφορον] ανδρα	Il. ii. 24, 61.
	[βςε δαιμ]ονι ου μεν καλα [χολον τονδ ενθεο] θυμω	Il. vi. 326.
	[βςς] . . . δ' ου κε ποτ ες φ . . . ελθων	
5	[γαα αξομα]ι αμφοτεροις αλ[οχους και κτηματ] οπασσω	Od. xxi. 214.
	[γαβ τοξου] πειρωμεσθα κα[ι εκτελεωμεν α]εθλον	Od. xxi. 180, 268.
	[γαγ ου γαρ] τις νεμεσις φυχ[ειν κακον ουδ αν]α νυκτα	Il. xiv. 80.
	[γαδ παν]τοιης αρετης μ[ιμνησκει νυν σ]ε μαλα χρη	Il. xxii. 268.
	[γαε ^{ληιπ} εις δ' εν μεγαρ[οισι παις δ' ετι νηπ]ιος αυτως	{ Il. xxiv. 726 corr. to Il. xxii. 484.
10	[γας] . . . γαρ μη πως κ . . . ηος	
	[γβα] . . . α γαρ εν κακ . . . υσιν	
	[γββ ουκ εσθ' ουτος ανηρ διερος] βροτος ουδε γενηται	Od. vi. 201.
	[γβγ ναι δη ταυτα γε τεκνον ετητ]υμον ου κακον εστιν	Il. xviii. 128.
	[γβδ ου οι νυν ετι γ' εστι πεφυγμε]νον αμμι γενεσθαι	Il. xxii. 219.
15	[γβε χαλκου τε χρυσου τ' απολυσ]ομεθ' εστι γαρ ενδον	Il. xxii. 50.
	[γβς πινε τε μητ εριδαινε μετ α]νδρασι κουροτεροισι	Od. xxi. 310.
	[γγα πη φ]ευγε[ις] μετα νω[τα β]αλων κακος ως εν ομ[ιλ]ω	Il. viii. 94.
	[γγβ αι γαρ ε]μοι τοιοσδε ποσις [κε]κλημενος ειη	Od. vi. 244.
	[γγγ ουρα]νω εστηριξε καρ[η] και επι χθονι βαινει	Il. iv. 443.
20	[γγδ αλλ] ου Ζευς ανδρεσσι, [νοηματα παντα τελευτα]	Il. xviii. 328.

Line 9. The MSS. of Homer omit the first δ', which would make nonsense in both passages.

Line 20. A stroke, like a large comma, follows the word ανδρεσσι.

	[γγε νευσ]ε δε οι λαον σοον ε[μμεναι ουδ απολεσθαι]	Il. viii. 246.
	[γγς μηδ ο]φέλες λισσεσθε αμ[υμονα Πηλειωνα]	Il. ix. 698.
	[γδα οι]νος σε τρωει μελ[ιηδης ος τε και αλλους]	Od. xxi. 293.
	[γδβ ερξ]ον οπη δη τοι νο[ος επλετο μηδε τ' ερωει]	Il. xxii. 185.
25	[γδγ αμ]φω γαρ πεπρωτα[ι ομοιην γαιαν ερευσαι]	Il. xviii. 329.
	[γδδ βαλλ'] ουτως αι κεν τι φο[ως Δαναοισι γενηαι]	Il. viii. 282.
	[γδε ως] ουκ εσθ' ος σης γε [κυνας κεφαλης απαλαλκοι]	Il. xxii. 348.
	[γδς ου μ]εν μοι κτενεε[ις επει ου τοι μορσιμος ειμι]	Il. xxii. 13.
	[γεα ενθ]αδε κ' αυθι μεν[ων παρ' εμοι τοδε δωμα φυλασσοις]	Od. v. 208.
30	[γεβ εικ]ε γερον προθυρ[ου μη δη ταχα και ποδος ελκη]	Od. xviii. 10.
	[γεγ βελ]τερον ος φευγω[ν προφυγη κακον ηε α]λωη	Il. xiv. 81.
	[γεδ μη]δε τω εκφασ[θαι μητ' ανδρων μητε γυναι]κων	Od. xiii. 308.
	[γεε πυρ]ων η κριθω[ν τα δε δραγματα ταρφεα πιπ]τει	Il. xi. 69.
	[γες οπ]ποιον κ' ειπη[σθα επος τοιον κ' επακουση]ς	Il. xx. 250.
35	[γσα] ουκ ειασχ' Ελενη[ν δομεναι ξανθω Μενελαώ]	Il. xi. 125.
	[γςβ] η τι μεταστρεψει[ς στρεπται μεν τε φρενες εσθλων]	Il. xv. 203.
	[γςγ] αυταρ εγωγε λ [εν]ι θυμω	
	[γςδ] Ευρυμαχ' ου[χ ουτως εσται νοεις δε και α]υτος	Od. xxi. 257.
	[γςε] α δειλε ξ[εινων ενι τοι φρενες ουδ ηβ]αιαι	Od. xxi. 288.
40	[γςς] τω δ' ε[τερον μεν εδωκε πατηρ ετερ]ον δ' ανενευσε	Il. xvi. 250.
(Col. 2.)		
	[δ]αα αλλ' εις οικον ιουσ[α] τα σαντης εργα κομιζε	{ Il. vi. 490; Od. i. 356, xxi. 350.
	[δ]αβ τω νυν μηδε συ [τα]υτα τεη ειπησθα γυναικι	Od. xi. 224.
	[δ]αγ λαινον εσσο χιτωνα κακων ενεχ' οσσα εοργας	Il. iii. 57.
	[δ]αδ ηρω αθανατοις [εναλιγκιον] οντα ιδεσθαι	
45	[δ]αε ευχεο δ' Απολ[λωνι λυκηγ]ενει κλυτοτοξω	Il. iv. 101.
	[δ]ας ουδε λυκοι [και αρνες ομο]φρονα θυμον εχουσι	Il. xxii. 263.
	[δβα] αλλ η τοι με[ν ταυθ υποειξομ]εν αλληλοισιν	Il. iv. 62.
	[δββ] εν δ] ερις ε[ν δε κυδοιμος ομιλεον ε]ν δ' ολοη κηρ	Il. xviii. 535.
	[δβγ]]	
50	[δβδ]]	
	[δβε]]	
	[δβς] νηπυτιε τι ν[υ τοξον] εχεις ανεμωλιον αυτως	Il. xxi. 474.
	[δγα] και γαρ τ ηϋκ[ομος] Νιοβη εμνησατο σιτου	Il. xxiv. 602.
	[δγβ] χαλκον τε χρυ[σον τ]ε αλις εσθητα τε δοντες	Od. v. 38.
55	[δγγ] ου τοι επειθ [αλιη] οδος εσσεται ουδ' ατελεστος	Od. ii. 273.
	δγδ εις οιωνος αρ[ιστος] αμυνασθαι περι πατρης	Il. xii. 243.

Line 22. λισσεσθε: for λισσεσθαι.

Line 28. μοι: for με, to which it has been corrected by the ε being interlined.

Line 31. ος: corrected from ως.

Line 42. The first half of this line differs entirely from the

ordinary text.

Lines 49-51. These three lines are lost; some remains of the lower part of the letters of l. 51 are visible.

Line 56. αμυνασθαι: the ordinary text has αμυνεσθαι.

	δγε	την τοι εγω [ρεξω] χρυσον κερασιν περιχενας	{ Il. x. 294; Od. iii. 384.
	δγς	πασι δε κεν Τρ[ωεσσι χαρι]ν και κυδος αροιο	Il. iv. 95.
60	δδα	νηα κατισχ[εμεναι επει] νοησετιπτα γυναξιν	Od. xi. 456.
	δδβ	ουκ εστ ουδε ε[οικε τεον επ]ος αρνησασθαι	Il. xiv. 212.
	δδγ	αιψα μεταστρ[εψειε νοον] μετα σον και εμον κηρ	Il. xv. 52.
	δ[δ]δ	και οι σημα[ινειν ο δε πεισετα]ι ε[ις] αγαθ[ον] περ	Il. xi. 789.
	δδε	ευχος εμοι δ[ωσειν ψυχην δ Λιδι κλυτοπ]ωλω	Il. v. 654; xi. 445.
	δδς	νηα αλις χρυσου κ[αι χαλκου νη]σασθ[αι]	Il. ix. 279.
65	δεα	αλλα το μεν φασ[θαι το δε και κεκρυμμενον] ειναι	Od. xi. 443.
	δεβ	Ζευς δ' επι γεινο[μενοισιν ιει κακοτητα β]αρειαν	Il. x. 71.
	δεγ	οιω ποιπνυσθα[ι τοι δε σκιαι αισσουσι]ν.	Od. x. 495.
	δεδ	ειξας ω θυμω [τω δ ουκετι δωρ ετελε]σσαν	Il. ix. 598.
	δεε	χαιρω σευ [Λαερτιαδη τ]ον μυθον [α]κουσας	Il. xix. 185.
70	δες	Ζευς δ' αρετ[ην ανδρεσσιν] οφελλει τε μ[ι]νυθει τε	Il. xx. 242.
	δσα	δεινος ανηρ [ταχα κεν κα]ι αναιτιον [αιτ]ιωωτο	Il. xi. 654.
	[δςβ]	π[αν]συνδιη [νυν γαρ κεν ελοι]ς πολιν [ε]νρυ[α]γνιαν	Il. ii. 29, 66.
	δςγ	τετλαθι δη [κραδιη και κυντερο]ν αλλο ποτ ετλης	Od. xx. 18.
	δςδ	δαιμονι ατ[ρεμας ησο και αλλων μ]υθον ακουε	Il. ii. 200.
75	δςε	μηνυθμον [μεν απορριψαι φιλοτητ]α δ' ελεσθαι	Il. xvi. 282.
	δςς	ω[ς αγαθον και παιδα καταφθιμε]νοιο λιπεσθαι	Od. iii. 196.
(Col. 3.)			
	εαα	τη τοτε δη κρηδε[μν]ον υπο στερνοιο τανυσσαι	Od. v. 346.
	εαβ	ευχ' οση κταμ[ενο]ισιν επ ανδρασιν ευχεταασθαι	Od. xxii. 412.
	εαγ	νυκτα δι αμβ[ροσι]ην οτε θ' ευδουσιν βροτοι αλλοι	Il. xxiv. 363.
80	εαδ	πως αν επειτ [Οδυ]σσης εγω θειοιο λαθοιμην	Il. x. 243.
	εαε	ελλαβε πορφ[υρεος θανατ]ος και μοιρα κραταιη	{ Il. v. 83; xvi. 334; xx. 477.
	εας	ως ουκ' αινοτ[ερον και κυν]τερον αλλο γυναικος	Od. xi. 427.
	εβα	μη ιομεν Δα[να]οισι [μα]χησομενοι περι νηων	Il. xii. 216.
	εββ	ανδρ' επαμ[υνασθ]αι ο[τε τις] προτερος χαλεπηνη	{ Il. xxiv. 369; Od. xvi. 72, xxi. 133.
85	εβγ	ουδε τι μιν παι[δες] ποτι γοννασι παμπαζουσιν	Il. v. 4c8.
	εβδ	ενδον μεν [δη οδ] αυτος εγω και πολλα μογησας	Od. xxi. 207.
	εβε	μηδ' ουτως [αγορ]ευσ παρος δ' ουκ εσσεται [αλλως]	Il. v. 218.
	εβς περεπειω μεν ος πε	

Line 59. νοησετιπτα: an extraordinary corruption for ουκετι πιστα. γυναξιν is another blunder, for γυναιξιν.

Line 66. The ordinary text omits δε.

Line 67. ποιπνυσθαι: for πεπνυσθαι.

Line 77. τη τοτε δη: the ordinary text has τη δε τοδε.

Line 78. ευχ: for ουχ.

Line 80. Οδυσσης: for Οδυσσος; cf. Il. 98 and 112.

Line 84. επαμυνασθαι: the ordinary text απαμυνασθαι.

Line 85. παμπαζουσιν: the ordinary text παμπαζουσιν.

Line 86. και: for κακα.

Line 87. αγορευσ: for αγορευε.

90	εγα	μηδ [επαγαλλομεν]ος πολεμω και δηιοτητι	Il. xvi. 91.
	εγβ	μη ποτ[ε της εννης] επιβημεναι ηδε μιγηναι	Il. ix. 133; xiv. 176.
	εγγ	χειλεα [μεν τ εδιην] υπερωην δ ουκ' εδιηνευ	Il. xxii. 495.
	εγδ	θαρσει [μη τοι ταυτα] μετα φρεσι σησι μελοντων	{ Il. xviii. 463, xix. 29; Od. xiii. 362.
	εγε	τουτον δ' [ου δυναμαι] βαλεειν κυνα λυσσητηρα	Il. viii. 299.
	εγς	τεττα σιωπ[η ησο ε]μω δ' επιπειθεο μυθ[ω]	Il. iv. 412.
<hr/>			
95	εδα	ουκ' αρετα κ[ακα εργα] κιχανει τοι βραδυσ ω[κυν]	Od. viii. 329.
	εδβ	κληισσαν μεγα[ροιο θυρ]ας πυκινως α[ραρ]νιαις	Od. xxi. 236, 382.
	εδγ	α δειλ' ουδε τι τ[οι θαν]ατος καταθυμιο[ς ε]στιν	Il. xvii. 201.
	εδδ	ηλθ' Οδυσσευς κ[αι οικο]ν ικανεται οψε [πε]ρ ελθω	Od. xxiii. 7.
	εδε	εκ τε και οψε τε[λει συν] τε μεγαλω απ[ετι]σεν	Il. iv. 161.
100	εδς	εν δ' ερις εν δ[ε κυδοιμος ομιλεον εν δ ολοη] κη	Il. xviii. 535.
<hr/>			
105	εεα	λοιμω δ' οικτι[στον θανεειν και ποτμον] επισπειν	Od. xii. 342.
	εεβ	κεισομ' επει [κε θανω νυν δε κλεος εσθλο]ν αροιμη	Il. xviii. 121.
	εεγ	αλλ' ορσευ πολ[εμονδ' οιος παρος ευχαι] ειναι	Il. iv. 264.
	εεδ	ου τι σε λωβε[ω τεκνον φιλον ουδ' απα]φισκω	Od. xxiii. 26.
	εεε	Αλκμηνης δ' [απεπαυσε τοκον σχεθε δ' Ειλει]θυιης	Il. xix. 119.
	εες	αλλ' ιθι ταυτ[α δ' οπισθεν αρεσσομεθ ει τ]ι κακον νυν	Il. iv. 362.
<hr/>			
110	εσα	πη μεματ[ον τι σφωιν ενι φρεσι μαν]εται ητορ	Il. viii. 413.
	εσβ	μη δη τοι κει[νος γε λιην ενθυμιος εσ]τω	Od. xiii. 421.
	εσυ	αλλ' ου πως α[μα παντα θεοι δοσαν ανθρ]ωποισιν	Il. iv. 320.
	εσδ	μη δ' ουτως [αγορευε παρος δ' ουκ εσσετ]αι αλλως	Il. v. 218.
	εσε	ως εφ' ου[δε Διος πειθε φρενα ταυ]τ αγορευω	Il. xii. 173.
	εςς	αλλ' Οδυσσευς α[νενευε και εσχεθεν ι]μενον περ	Od. xxi. 129.
<hr/>			
115	σαα	πως εθελεις [επι νηας Αχαιων ελ]θεμεν οιος	Il. xxiv. 203.
	σαβ	νυμφιον [ειν μεγαρω μιαν οιην] παιδα λιποντα	Od. vii. 65.
	[σαγ	αχλυν δ' αυ τοι απ οφθαλμων ελον] η πρω εποικεν	Il. v. 127.
<hr/>			
(Col. 4.)			
	σαδ	τοξου πειρωμεσθα και εκτελεωμεν αεθλον	Od. xxi. 180, 268.
	σαε	γνωσκω δ' ως σφωιν εελδομενοισιν ικανω	Od. xxi. 209.
	σας	εσσω μεν χλαιναν τε χιτωνα τε ειματα καλα	{ Od. xvi. 79; xvii. 550; xxi. 339.
<hr/>			
	σβα	αψαμενη βρογχο[ν] επην αφ νηηλοιο μελαθρου	Od. xi. 278.

Line 96. κληισσαν: the ordinary text κληισαι.

Line 98. Οδυσσευς: for Οδυσσευς.

Line 99. απειτισεν: the ordinary text απειτισαν.

Line 100. κη: thus, for κηρ. This line has been already quoted above, l. 48.

Line 101. λοιμω: the ordinary text λιμω.

Line 104. A variant of the ordinary text, which ends with
αλλ' ε'τυμόν τοι.

Line 112. Οδυσσευς: for Οδυσσευς.

Line 115. εποικεν: for επηεν.

Line 118. μεν: for μιν.

Line 119. βρογchon επην: a strange corruption for βροχον αιπυν.

		των επων	
	λην αιγειαν με	-- -- -- --	μετ' αλμης βρεξας κ
	τα υδατος μετα	ομηρομαντιο'	τριψας ρανον
	μειξας σπορ	-- -- -- --	
	πισον	επ αγαθω	
		-- -- -- --	
155	ημερομανται κ[αι]	ωραι	
	α εωθεν	ιγ δι ολης ημερας	κδ εωθεν
	β μεσημβριας	ιδ εωθεν	κε μη χρω
	γ μη χρω	ιε δι ολης ημερας	κς δειλης
	δ εωθεν	ις μη χρω	κζ δι ολης ημερας
160	ε εωθεν	ιζ μη χρω	κη δι ολης ημερας
	ς μη χρω	ιη εωθεν και [δειλης]	κθ δι ολης ημερας
	ζ μεσημβριας	ιθ εωθεν	λ δειλης
	η δι ολης ημερας	κ εωθεν	
	θ μη χρω	κα δειλης	
165	ι δι ολης ημερας	[κβ] δειλης	
	ια δειλης	[κγ] εωθεν	
	ιβ δι [ολης η]μερας		

(Col. 5.)

Δημοκριτου παιγνια

τα χαλκα χρυσα ποιησαι φαινεσθαι θειον απυρον
μετα της κρητηριας μειξας εκμασσε.

170 ωον ομοιον μηλον γενεσθαι ζεσας το ωον χρειε κροκω
μειξας μετ' οινου; μαγειρον μη δυνασθαι την πυρα

αναψαι βοτανην αιει[ζω]ον θες αυτου εις την εστιαν

φαγοντα σκορ^δ μη οζειν [ρ]ιζας βυγλο^ν οπησας φαγει

175 γραυν μη τα πολλα λα[λ]ειν μητε πολλα πινειν πιτυν
κοψας βαλε αυτης εις [το] κραμμα: μονομαχας εξωγραφη

μενους μαχεσθαι υποκατω αυτων καπνισον λαγου κεφα^λ

ψυχρα τρωγοντα κατακαιεσθαι σκιλλαν εις υδωρ χλιαρον
βρεξας δος αυτα νιψασ[θ]αι λυσις ελαιωι: τους
. . . ενους μογκ^ν . . . τοι κομι μετα οινου και s

Line 154. σπορπισον: for σκορπισον.

Lines 155-167. A statement of the time of day most favourable for divinations on each day through the month. The phrase μη χρω means that divination is not to be practised on those days.

Lines 168-185. A number of recipes for various purposes, not

magical, though some of them are peculiar.

Line 173. *I.e.* to prevent the breath from smelling after eating garlic. βυγλον: *i.e.* βουγλώσσον.

Line 175. κραμμα: qu., a word formed from κράμβη, meaning her portion of vegetables.

Lines 178-9. These lines are considerably mutilated.

180 δος εις την οψιν μυρ[ιξε]σθαι: πολλα πινοντα και μη με

θυέν χοιραιον πνευ[μ]ονα οπτησας φαγε: οδοιπορουντα
μη διψαν ων οινον ανοκοφας ροφα: πολλα β . . ειν

δυνασθαι στροβιλια πεντηκοντα μετα δυο κνα[μ]ν
γλυκεις και κοκκους πεπερεως τριψας πιε: στ . ειν

185 οτε θελεις πεπερι μετα μελιτος τριψας χριε σο' το πρ . . .

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
χαρ καινικ' λαβ' καλαβωτην χωροφαγοντα εν τοις μνη  
μιοις ευρισκομενον [π]αρα σαντου την δεξιαν χειραν  
εν καλαμω κοφας εασον αυτον εις τον ιδιον τοπον  
αυτον απελθειν ζωντα και ασφαλεισας την χειραν

190 του ζωου φορει εις το υποκαλυμμα των υματιων σου

. . . το καταδεσμος αιωνιος χολης καπρου αλος αμμου  
νιακου μελιτος Αττικου ομου τριψον και χρ σου την βαλανον

προς σκορπιον πληγην εν χαρτη καθαρω τους χαρακτηρ  
επιγραφον επιθες εν τω τοπω εν ω η πληγη και επιδησον

195 τον χαρτην και εσται απονος παραντα εστι δε οι χαρ

ω † Τ Τ □ † ११ Ζ □  Γ· χαρ ια

†† ρευμα οφθαλμων επιγραφ' εις χαρ' και περιπατε  
ρουραρβισαρου . . β . . . ασφρην ρ ρ ρ ρ

†† ημικρανιον λαβων ελαιον εις τας χειρας σου ειπε λ  
200 ο Ζευς εσπειρεν λιθον ραγος σχιζει την γην ου σπειρει  
ουκ αναβαινει: αλλο εις δερμα κοκκιν' επιγραφον

ταδε αβρασας Ϟ και τα κῶι εμπλασας επιθες τω κροτ[α]φω

†† βηκα επι δερμα υαινης επιγρ μελ' θαιαι εν τεθραιτω ως  
ευρον εν αλλω τ[ε]θραιω θραιτευ θραιτω θαβαρβαωρι ⊕

205 λικραληρητα· απαλ]λαξον † απο της συνεχ' αυτον βηκος

Line 182. *ων οινον ανοκοφας*: *οινον* should probably be *οινω*, and *ανοκοφας* is a blunder for *ανακοφας*. An egg beaten up in wine is Mr. Gladstone's prescription for support during a long speech.

Lines 186–221. Magical formulæ and charms are resumed here, though some of them are for very commonplace purposes.

Line 186. *χωροφαγοντα*: probably for *χλωροφαγοντα*.

Line 192. *χρ*: *i.e.* *χρίε*.

Line 197. *††*: not for *πράγμα*, as usual, but *πρός*; and so in several of the following passages.

Line 199. *ημικρανιον*: the form given in the lexicons is *ημικρανιαν*.

Line 203. *μελ'*: *i.e.* *μέλανι*.


Line 204. *ως ευρον εν αλλω*: *i.e.* "as I found the word written in another authority." Neither *τεθραιτω* nor *τεθραιω* occurs in the lexicons, but they probably = *τετραόδιον*, "a place where four roads meet."

(Col. 6.)

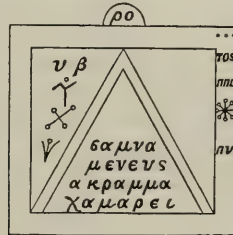
αλλο εις δερμα ὕαινης επιγρ τους χαρ τ κ λ ρ γ ⊕ ακψα  
τευτεθρωι περιαιψον εις τον τραχ' και αβροχον φορειτω

⌒ μασθων σκληρια λαβ' βυσσινον ρακος επιγρ μελανι  
⊕ ⋈ τ ⊕ α ⋈ ⊕ ρ L = ⌒ βουβωνα λαβ' σπαρτ/ απολαντιον

- 210 κατα αμμα . . . ετε α ≠ καστωρ β = θα β =  
⌒ ριγοπυρετ[ιω]ν λαβ' ελαιον εις τας χειρας σου λεγε ζ σαβαωθ:  
β = κῶι και [αλ]ιφε απο του προσστεου μεχρι των ποδων

⌒ καθημε[ρ]ιον νυκτερινον εις φυλλον ελαιας εις το  
λευκον επιγρ  εις το μελαν επιγραφ/ & και περιαιπτε

- 215 Αφροδιτης στηλην προς φιλιαν και χαριν και πραξιν και  
φιλους λαβ' πεταλλον κασσιτερινον χαραξον χαλκω  
γρα[φω] . . κ . . φορουμειη καθαρωσ



φυλακτηριον προς ριγοπυρετιον καθημερινον  
γραψον εις χαρτην καθαρων και περιαιψον

- 220 ιαω σαβαωθ αδωναι ακραμμαχαμαρει καθυφερ  
αω  
ω  
αβρασαξ

ονειραιτητον Βησας λαβων μιλτον περιστερας λευκης  
ομοι και κορωνης και γαλα συκαμινου και χυλον αρτε  
μισιας μωνοκλονου και κιναβαρει και ὕδωρ ομβριμῶ  
225 και παντα λειωσας αποθου και εν αυτω και εν αυτω  
γραφε μ[ετ]α μελανος γραφικου και διωκε τον λ οψε προς

Line 210. The stroke in the margin should probably follow this line instead of preceding it.

Line 212. [αλ]ιφε: there is not room for αλε in the lacuna, and there seem to be traces of part of the λ visible just before the ι. The π of προσστεου is very doubtful; if correct, the word presumably means "forehead."

Line 215. στηλην: apparently with the sense of "inscription"

or "tablet." Cf. Pap. xlii. 96.

Lines 222-249. A longer charm for procuring dreams. The name Βησα occurs again in the same connection in Pap. cxxii. 64, where the same charm is given, with some variations. Βησ or Βησα is the Egyptian word for "hawk," and so for the god Horus, whose representations have a hawk's head.

Line 225. και εν αυτω: repeated by mistake.

- τον λυχ[υ]ον και λαβων μελαν ἴσιακον περιβαλε  
την χει[ρ]α σου και σχεδον σου εγρηγορουντος ηξει  
ο θεος κ[α]ι λεξει σοι και ουκ' αποχωρηση ει μη εξαλιψης  
230 την χει[ρ]αν σου ναρδω η ροδιω και εμμαξης την  
ζωγραφιαν τω ἴσιακω μελανι το δε ρακος περιθου  
περι τον τραχηλον ἵνα μη σε . . ξη λ' ο λεγομενος  
επι τον λυχρον: επικαλουμαι σε τον ακεφαλον  
θεον τ[ο]ν επι τοις ποσιν εχοντα την ορασιν ο αστραπῶ

(Col. 7.)

- 235 ο βρονταζων συ ει το στομα δια παντος προσχεεται  
συ ει ο επι της αναγκης αρβαθιαω συ ει ο επι σωρω  
κατακειμενος και προς κεφαλης εχων ὑπαγκωνιον  
ρητινης και ασφαλτου ὃν λεγουσιν ανουθ' αναςτα  
240 δαιμων ουκ ει δαιμων αλλα το των ιβ' ἱερακων  
των προς κεφαλης του Ουρανου λαλουντων κ' αγρυ  
πνουτων εγειρον σου την νυκτερινην [μ]ορφην  
εν ἡ παντα αναγορευε[ι]ς ορκιζω σε δαιμων κατα τῶ  
βοηθηματων σου ανουθ' ανουθ': συ ει ο ακεφαλος θς  
ὃ εν τοις ποσιν εχων κεφαλην και την ορ[α]σιν  
245 Βησας αμβλυωπω ο[υ]κ' αγνοουμεν συ ει οὐ το στομα  
[δια παντος] προκιαεται ορκ[ι]ζω σε] κατα των β' ονοματων σου  
ανουθ': ανουθ': . . . . . ραφησαρα η . . . ελθε κε .  
χρηματισον μοι περ[ι] του ἡ πραγ' αψενστως ασκα . . ηδη β' ταχυ β'  
το δε ζωδιον γεγραπτα[ι] εν τη αρχη της βιβλου: ρρρρρ—
- 250 ονειραιτητον ο αι κεχρηται λ' ο λεγομενος προς τον  
καθημερινον λυχρον ναιενχρη ναιει[χρ]η μητηρ  
πυρος και ὕδατος συ ει ο προανατελλων αρ . . . κθα  
χρηματισον μοι περι του ἡ πραγ' εαν ναι δει[ξ]ον μ[ο]ι  
φντον και ὕδωρ ει δε μηγε πυρ και σιδηρον ηδη [β' ταχυ] β'
- 255 αλλο προς τον αυτον λυχρον κυριε ὕγιαине λυχνε  
ο παρεμφαινων τω Οσιριδι και παρεμφαινων τω  
Οσιρχεντεχθα και τω κυριω μου τω αρχαγγελω Μιχαηλ  
ει συμφερει μοι τουτο ποιησαι δειξον μοι φντον κ

Line 235. *συ ει κ.τ.λ.*: the sentence should continue, *ου το στομα δ. π. προκιαεται*. Cf. l. 246 below. In Pap. cxxii. 93 it runs *συ ει ου το στομα δια παντα πυρος γεμει*.

Line 236. *σωρω*: in Pap. cxxii. 97, *σωρω*. As it is there accompanied by a feminine adjective, *σωρω* must be right there, and should probably be read here.

Line 239. *ιβ*: in Pap. cxxii. 100, *δυα*.

Line 240. *Ουρανον*: in Pap. cxxii. 100, *Οσιρεως*.

Line 246. *προκιαεται*: for *προκιαεται*.

Line 247. *κε*: i.e. *κυριε*.

Line 249. The figure is no doubt that given at the end of Pap. cxxii.; but that cannot be the reference intended here. Pap. cxxii. cannot have been originally a portion of this sheet, as it measures two inches less in height; the papyrus is of slightly different quality, and the handwriting is different.

Lines 250-259. Two shorter charms of the same class.


Line 253. *εαν ναι κ.τ.λ.*: cf. l. 258 *seg.*

Line 258. After *ποιησαι* the scribe had begun to write *εαν ναι*, as in l. 253, but noticed that it was unnecessary and erased what he had written.

ὑδωρ εἰ δὲ μῆγε πυρ καὶ σιδηρον ἡδὴ ἡδὴ ταχυ ταχυ.

- 260 προς μητρας αναδρομην ἐξορκίζω σε μητραν καταστα  
θεντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀβυσσους πρὶν γενεσθε ουρανὸν ἢ γῆν ἢ  
θαλασσαν ἢ φῶς ἢ σκοτος τὸν κτισαντα ἀγγελον ὦν  
πρωτος ἀμιχαμχου καὶ χουχαῶ χηρωερ οὐειαχῶ  
265 οδὸν προσειογγῆς καὶ ἐπὶ χερουβιν καθήμενον βαστα  
ζοντα τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἰδίου ἀποκατασταθῆναι ἐν τῇ  
ἐδρᾳ μῆδὲ κλιθῆναι εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρ[ο]ν μέρος μῆδὲ  
εἰς τὸ ἀριστερον πλευρον μέρος μῆδὲ ἀποδειξῆς εἰς τὴν  
καρδιαν ὡς κυων ἀλλὰ σταθῆτι καὶ μενοῖς ἐν χωροῖς  
ἰδίοις μῆδὲν μεμασ . . . ἐν ἡ ὅστε ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν ἀρχι  
270 ποιησαντα τὸν ουρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν  
αὐτῇ ἀλληλοῦια ἀμην γράφε ἐν λεπί<sup>δ</sup> κασσὶ καὶ [ἐ]νδυνε ἐν χρῶσι ζ̄

(Col. 8.)

- θωθ: α δ ιβ ιγ κβ  
φαωφι: β δ ι ιθ κ  
αθυρ: ζ η θ ιζ ιη κγ κζ  
275 χοιακ: ε ς ιγ ιε ις κδ κε  
τυβι: γ δ ιβ κδ κς  
μεχειρ: α β ι ιδ ιθ  
φάμεν<sup>ω</sup>: ζ η θ  
φαρμουθι: ε ς ιδ ιε κ  
280 παχων: γ δ ιβ ιγ κα κς κη  
παῦνι: α β ι ια ιε κ  
ἐπειφ: ζ η θ ιδ ιη ιθ κβ  
με[σορη] . . ιθ κ κγ κδ κε
- κυκλος [σ]εληνῆς α  
285 ἐν παρθ[εν]: παναλ<sup>ω</sup>ιον πε  
ποιη[μ]ενον  
ζυγω: νεκυομαντια  
σκορπιω: πανκακωσ<sup>ι</sup>  
τοξοτη: προς  καὶ α ἐπὶ  
290 κλησιν ἡτοι ἐπιλαλημα<sup>τ</sup>  
αιγοκερω: οσα λεγεις <sup>β</sup>θε<sup>α</sup>λ<sup>ε</sup>εις

Lines 260–271. A charm against perturbations of the womb.

Line 271. γράφε, κ.τ.λ.: a sort of postscript, huddled in after the rest had been finished.

Lines 272–283. A list of the days in each month favourable for divination.

Line 283. The dates in this month are almost lost in a

lacuna, except the last three.

Lines 284–299. A list of the different kinds of spells or divinations proper to the times when the moon is in the several signs of the zodiac.

Line 291. The β and α over λεγεις and θελεις denote the proper order of the words, which should run οσα θελεις λεγεις.



επικαλεις τον  
 υδρηχω: εις φίλτρον  
 ιχθυς: εις προγονωσιν  
 295 κρειω: εμπυρον ητοι αγωγι<sup>τ</sup>  
 ταυρω: εις λυχν επιλαλη<sup>τ</sup>  
 διδυμοι: χαριτησιον  
 καρκινω: φυλακτηρια  
 λεων: κερκα ητοι καταδεσμά

(Col. 9.)

300 αγωγιμον αυθωρον λαβων οστρακον θαλασσιον γη τα αγια  
 ονοματα δια αιματος ονιου μελανου λ̄ εξορκιζω σε  
 ο[σ]τρακε κατα της πικρας αναγκης: μασκελλι λ̄ και κατα  
 των τιμωριων τεταγμενων λακι λακι ω λακι μου  
 μου κιλα κιλα μου ιωρ μουωρ μουθρα μαξθα  
 305 μουσαθα αξον την ἅ της ἅ κῶι ὅτι μη παραμεινατε  
 α[λ]λαξον αυτην ουχ ουχ χαυνα μου χλιμαλχα  
 μαντωρ μουρκανα μουλιθα: μαλθαλιμου ιη ιη ιω  
 ιν αη αιη νοω αηι αηι αωα αωα αωα ιαω ωαι  
 ωαι αιω ωια ιωα ιαω ωαι αξον την ἅ κῶι βανξᾶ  
 310 εν ταυρω η κρειω η ταυρω και κῶι οσα θελεις

[φ]υλακτ̄ ιαω σαβαωθ: [αδω]ναι αβλα[ν]αθαναλβα [α]κραμμα  
 χαμαρει εσενγεν βαρ . . . σεφραζαωθ: ζ . . . . . βαιν  
 χωωωχ: φυλαξατε τον ἅ ον ἅ απο πασης επηρειας ονει  
 [ρ]ους τε φρικτους και παντων αεριων δια το μεγα ενδοξον  
 315 ονομα Αβρααμ εμεινασεουβαωθ: βαιθωβ εσια ιαβα<sup>ω</sup>  
 αγραμακραμαρ ψινωθ: βερων ιασωπβ . . . π . ουτεῶ

αλλο φυλακτηρον προς ᾗ αχθιωφι φερεσχιγαλ: νεβουτος  
 θναληθ: σαθωθ: σαβαωθ: σαβρωθ' κῶι οσα θελεις

αυτοπτος λαβων ἀγγιον χαλκουν βαλων εις αυτο ὕδωρ ομ  
 320 βριμον και επιθυε λιβ' αρσενι\* λ̄ ηρεμιτω γαια και αηρ ηρε  
 μιτω και θαλασσα ηρεμιτω ηρεμιτω και οι ανεμοι και  
 μη μου εμποδιζεσθαι εις την μαντιαν μου ταυτην μη  
 φωνη μη ολολυγμος μη σινριγμος επι γαρ ειμι προφητης

Line 292. There is a blot after επικαλ, but it probably only marks a blunder. Apparently θεον should be added after τον, or else ηλιον.

Line 299. κερκα: feminine form of κερκος, meaning a ring, such as is given in the drawing which follows (see the photograph), and which occupies the rest of this column. It represents a bird surrounded by a magical formula, which forms four circles about it; the formula is similar to that contained in ll. 365-368.

Lines 300-310. A spell for enforcing the immediate presence of the person summoned.

Line 302. μασκελλι λ̄: cf. Pap. cxix. 10, where this formula is given in full. λ̄ stands for λόγος, as often elsewhere.

Lines 311-318. Two spells for protection against dangers.

Line 316. αγραμακραμαρ: a variation of the common ακραμμαχαμαρει.

Lines 319-334. A spell for procuring the personal appearance of a deity.

Line 320. ηρεμιτω: i.e. ηρεμειτω.

Line 323. επι: probably a blunder for εγω.

- και μελλοντος φωνειν ναον αγιον τον επι της ιδρυμεν'  
 325 δεινον ομμα φοβερων κολλα ολφιλογεμαλα αχερωιω  
 ανοιγε τον κοσμον και δεξε τον Οσιριν οτι εγω ειμι  
μανχνωβις χολχοβη μαλασητ' ια θαιονουτακερ  
τωμενου πακερβαω κραμμασιρατ' μομομο  
μελασουτ' πενφρη ανοιζον μου τα ωτα ινα μοι χρημα  
 330 τισης περι ων σε αξιω ινα αποκριθης μοι α[γ]ε. β ηδη β̄  
 ταχυ ταχυ και λεγε περι ων σε εξεταζω φανης μοι κ̄ ανουβι  
 επιτασσω σοι εγω γαρ ειμι ιεω βελφενω σκε[π]τομενου του  
 πρ̄α απολυσις λεγε χωρι[ζε] α]νουβι επι νγια και σωτηρια μου  
 εις τους ιδιους σου θρονους αγνευσας ημερας γ̄ και χρω

(Col. 10.)

- 335 αυτοπτικη εαν βουλης σεαυτον [ι]δειν λ̄ μυιαν και  
 στιμιν σκ[ο]πτικον τριψον ενχρειε τους οφθαλμους σο'  
 κ̄ λαβων πτερον ιβεως δακτυλων ιδ̄ χρεισας ροδι  
 νω μυρω η κρινινω περιελιξας οθονια βυσσινω  
 340 ως βιβλιον εχε μετα χειρας βλεπε δε τω αριστερω  
 οφθαλμω παρεμβλεπων ουτως λ̄ μουνειπ̄οις  
ηυφθανουθι θεισημι νουσινηθι χρεχρεωσινι  
νωρψιμουχ ορων ενθεριωι εωη μουνιαχ  
νεσωι μουνεσωχ μουνηι ενιμεχρε  
μουρενεε σονσνηι ωσμουχορ ωουενθερινι  
 345 ανοκ' σωσερμαιχω εντευμουτοιχη χρεμου  
τηχβας πνητε κυφοχ' εμμιεβοχνης τ̄χηνη  
φιμουχρου ννοιχωω ιμ . . . ουνευμοι ινουρι :

- μαντιον επι παιδος κατακλεινας επι το εδαφος  
 λεγε κ̄ φανησεται αυτω παιδιον μελανχρονον  
 350 λ̄ επικαλουμαι σε χαους και ερεβους βαθυγαιας  
 οικητορας ουρανου σκοτους εποπτας αθεωρητ̄ω  
 δεσποτας κρυφιμων φυλ[α]κας χθονιων ηγεμονας  
 απειρων διοικητας κραταιοχθονος χασμαθ' ῡπουρ  
 γους φρικτοπολεμονας φοβοδιακτορας : σκοτιορεμ  
 355 βους : αναγεποπτας κρημνοκρατορας αλγεσιθυμους  
βαρυνδαιμονας σιδηροψυχους βιθουραρα ασουημαρα  
. . . τρουρ μουρρουρ αφλου μανδραουρου σου μαραρου

Line 324. The sense is incomplete, and some words must have been omitted.

Line 327. ια : originally written ιατ', but the last character has been struck out.


Lines 335-347. A spell, apparently for raising your own "double."

Line 335. λ̄ = λαβων, cf. infr. l. 359.

Line 336. στιμιν : the usual form is στιμμι. σκ[ο]πτικον : probably a blunder for κοπτικον, which is an epithet of στιμμι in Pap. xlvi. 67, and in Pap. Bibl. Nat. 1070.

Lines 348-358. Spell for obtaining information, which is given by the appearance of a boy.

χρηματισατε περι ου σκεπτομαι πραγματος κῶι

- 360 ονειρ λ̄ ρακος λινουν καθα[ρο]ν γρ̄ εις αυτο το ὑποκατω π̄  
 και ελλιξας και ποιησας ελλυχνιον αναψον επιβαλων  
 ελαιον καθαρων λ̄ ο γραφομενος ουτος ἄρμιουθ' λαιλαμχωνχ  
 αρσενοφρηφρην φθα αρχεντεχθα εσπερας ουν οποταν  
 μελλης κοιμασθαι καθαρως απο παντος τοδε ποιει προσ  
 365 ελθων τω λυχνω λ̄ ξ̄ τον υποκει' λ̄ και ζβεσας αυτον  
 κοιμου λ̄ λεγ' ουτω σαχμου . . επαημα λιγοτηρηνηχ .  
 ο αιων ο βροντων ο καταπεπωκως του οφιν και τ̄  
 σεληγνην εμπεριλαμβανων και καθ ωραν εξαιρων  
 τον κυκλον του  χθεθω [κ]οι ονομα σοι αξιω ὕμας τους  
 κς των θ̄ν σηθ : χρηψ' χ[ρ]ηματισατε μοι περι ων β[ουλο]α

(Col. 11.)

- 370 π̄ πανθηριον και ενῦδρον και ληστων εξαψας  
 κρασπετον του ἱματιου σου λ̄ λωμα ζαθαιων  
 αχθασε μα . . ζαλ βαλαμαων η̄ι εου φυλαξον  
 με τον ἄ εν [τ]η αρτι ωρα ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ  
 375 αγρυπνητικον οστρακον απο θαλασσης γραψ  
 ιψα η̄ι αω α αγρυπνιτω μοι η̄ ἄ της ἄ ενεικη τη νυκτι  
 αγρυπνησει : αλλο ελλυχνιον λαβ' ελλυχνιασῶ  
 και προς αυτον λ̄ εξορκιζω σε λυχνε κατα της  
 μητρος σου Εστιας μηραλληλ̄ β̄ και κατα του  
 πατρος σου Ηφαιστου μελιβου μελιβου μελι  
 380 βαυ βαυ . . ρ . . . πειτω και κῶι τα δε γραμματα εις το  
 ελλυχνιο[ν] . . . . Χιιιι/ π και ουσια . . . κς  
 τον επανω λ̄ ποιει δε και σιδηρου τ . . . ν  
 ο λ̄ ψυγητι σιδηρε και χιων γενου ε[γω γαρ] εμι  
 μελιβου μελιβαν μελιβαν βα[ν] . . . και κ[ῶ]ι :
- 385 π̄ καλον ε[π]ι ποτηριου λ̄ ξ̄ κανωπι . . . ροιη  
 ρωδοχ . . . καλυψας ερεκιν παθηξας ερατευν  
 μορφυς χαρις φαφιεγι εισιω βουβαστι ποθωπι  
 εξορκιζω ὕμας αγια ονο" της Κυπριδος οπως

Lines 359-369. Another spell for procuring visions in dreams.

Line 359. π̄ : perhaps *προσωπον*.

Lines 365-8. Compare the charm written in circular fashion in the figure which follows l. 299.

Lines 370-428. A number of miscellaneous short charms.

Line 370. π̄ πανθηριον κ.τ.λ. : probably means a charm for protection against dangers from all wild beasts and from the

water ; though πανθηριον might be a variant for πανθηρα, and ενῦδρον may denote a water animal.

Line 375. ενεικη : probably a blunder for *εκεινη*.

Line 376. ελλυχνιασῶν : corrected in the MS. from ελλυχνιον. The verb ελλυχνιαζω does not seem to be known elsewhere, but the passive, ελλυχνιαζομαι, occurs in Dioscorides in the sense of "to have a wick."

εαν καταβατε· εις τα σπλαγχα της † † ποιησας φιλ· κ̄οι

390 νικητικον δρομεως· γραψον επι τους μεγαλους  
ονυχας αυτον γρ χαλκω γραφω τους χαρακτηρας  
τουτους ✱ Γ° Γ° γρ δος μοι επιτυχιαν επαφροσιν  
δοξαν χαριν εν τω σταδιω και τα κ̄οι οσα θελεις

κατοχων επαναγκαστικοι σφεδεμουρ· βιρβια·  
395 ηχι· ερωφθι· αταρμετρα· χηλωωψ· κ̄οι

φιμωτικον και υποτακτικον γενναιον και κα  
τοχος λαβ· μολιβ· απο ψυχροφορου σωληνος ποιησ̄ο  
λαμναν και επιγραφε χαλκ· γραφ· ως υποκειται  
ς θες παρα αωρον X ⊠ ✱ X ω ε m y τ ⊗ ε  
400 βακυχ Y Y . . L □ ααλουγκιελωαι· βαινχωωωχ·  
Ξ > > — X β . III ευλαμωφνουβενεειζοχορ  
μοβορ φωχορ βαζαχει αναχια Ϝ κ ϣ Ϝ ϣ β  
φωρφορβα φωρφορβα σεμες ιλαμ αρχεντεχθα  
ασχελιδονηλ· κατασχε κ̄οι ως αν βουλη f—

405 φιλτρ· επι φιλ· κατα φιλων λ ανοκ' θαρι· νεπιβαθα  
χεουχ· χα ανοκ' ανοχ' χαριε μουθ' λαιλαμ· κ̄οι

(Col. 12.)

εαν τινη εθελησης φανηναι δια νυκτος εν ονειροις  
λ προς τον λυχνον τον καθημερινον λεγε πολλakis  
χειαμωψει· ερπεβωθ· ειδετω μοι η † ην † εν τοις  
410 ὕπνοις ηδη ηδη ταχυ ταχυ και κ̄οι οσ αν βουλη f—

νυκτολαλημα λαβων κοκκοφαδιον την καρδιαν και  
βαλε εις ✱ κ γρ εις πιττακιον ιερατικον τα ονο· κ τους  
χαρακτηρας και ελιξον την καρδιαν εις το πιττακιον  
και επιθες επι την ψυχην αυτης και επερωτα και παν  
415 τα σοι εξομολογησει δαρνγκω· ιαν· ιαν· ⊗ ⊗ 1 X Ψ β  
λ θ λ θ λ δ α α β ζ α τ ι ζ β κ̄οι οσ αν βουλη ρρρρ ~ ρρ ~


κατοχος γρ εις πεταλλον κασσιτερινον χαλκω γραφω  
πρω ηλιου αν[α]τολης τα □ □ χρημ[α]λλον· μουλοχ·

Line 389. The symbol between the first and second † probably stands for "or." Cf. l. 409, where it recurs.

Lines 411-416. A charm for making a person talk in his (or her) sleep, and give answers to any questions you may put.

Line 418. □ □: i.e. ὀνόματα; cf. note on Pap. xlvii., l. 439.



- καμπυ· χρηφθω· μασκελλι· λ̄ ει . . σιφθῃ· ιαβεξεβυθ·  
 420 επειτα βαλε εις ποταμον η εις θαλασσαν πριν  ανα  
 τολῃς συνεπιγραφε και τουτους τους χαρακτηρας ⊗ ∃ ∷  
 𐀓 𐀔 X ε θεοι κραταιοι κατεχετε κοῑ οσ αν θελεις /
- κυβενοντα νικαν θεῖθениθωρ· δυναγωθερε· θερθениθωρ·  
 συναποθερεν· κωδοχωρ· ποιησον μοι κυβενοντα νικησαι  
 425 κρατων αδριηλ· εν τη χειρι λεγ· μηδε ἴσος ητω εμοι εγω  
 γαρ ειμι θερθениθωρ· ηρωθωρθιν· δολοθορ· και βαλλω ὁ θελω  
 και συνεχεστερον λ̄ και βαλλεις αλλως τε δει σε λεγειν μηδ̄  
 εις ωδε των παιζοντων μετ εμου ἴσ[ο]ς ητω και βαλλω οσα θελω
- κατοχ[ος . . . . .]ος πραγ· κ̄ επι αρματων π̄ι εστι δε και . . κοτως  
 430 κ̄ . . . . . και κατακοπτικον κ̄ . . . . . ν . . . εψιον . . .  
 στρεφομενα ον προσθελεις ο δε λ̄ ο λεγο· οργιζει δαιμονας  
 και εισκρινει απλακαν ες μολιβην απο ψυχροφορου τοπου  
 ενχαραξον ὁ βουλει γενεσθ̄ και τελεσας εν αρωμασιν  
 435 φαιοις οιον ζμυρνα βδελλῃς στυρακι και αλοη και θυμαν  
 μετα ιλνους παρα ποταμον οψε η μεσης νυκτος ὅπου  
 ρους εστιν η παρα ρεον βαλανιου η εις θαλασσαν δησας  
 αυτω σπαρτω βαλε φερεσθ̄ εις τον ρουν ινα οτε θελεις  
 εκλυσης εαν δε θελῃς απολυσαι λυσον το πλατυμα διωκε  
 τον λ̄ ζ̄ και οψει πραγ· θαυμαστον πορευου δε ανεπι  
 440 στρεπτει μηдени δους αποκρισιν και λουσαμενος κ̄  
 βαπτισαμενος αναβα παρα σαντ[ο]ν και ησυχάζον αφυχοις  
 τροφαις χρωμενος γρ̄ δε χαλκ· βελονη ακεφαλω εστι δε  
 τα γραφ̄ ορκιζω σε δεσποτα Οσι[ι]ρι κατα των σων

(Col. 13.)

- αγιων ονοματων οιχιωχ̄: ουσεναραναθ: ουσιρει: ουσερ  
 445 ραννουφθι: οσορνουφη: ουσερμνευει: ουσερσετεμενθ:  
 αμαραμαχι: χωμασ̄εμμαῑ: σερβωνι: εμερισι·  
 αρατωφι· εραχα· εσειωθ· αρβιωθι· αμενχουμ·  
 μονμοντονζαθι· πηρουνμεφερενωω· παραδιδωμι σοι  
 δεσποτα Οσιρι και παρακατατιθεμαι σοι τηνδε την πραξ̄  
 450 κοῑ εαν δε καταρυκτικον π̄οι η ποταμον η γην η θαλασ·  
 η γουν η θηκην η εις φρεαρ γρ̄ τον λ̄ τον Ορφαϊκον ασκει  
 και τασκει λεγων και λαβων μιτον μελανα βαλε αμματα

Line 423. *θεῖθениθωρ*: both the *ν* and the *ρ* have been struck out, but the *ρ* is correct, according to the form of the word where it occurs again in this line and in l. 426.

Lines 429-458. A longer invocation, addressed to Qsiris.

Line 429. The concluding word of this line and the whole of

the next have been intentionally obliterated, leaving only a few letters discernible.

Line 431. *οργιζει*: probably a slip for *ορκιζει*.

Line 434. *βδελλῃς*: the usual form of the name of the plant is *βδελλιον*.




(Col. 14.)

485 και ρητινης και κοπρου περιστερας λευκης ἴσα ἴσων ἐπιθνε  
 προς την αρκτων λεγων: φυλ\* τουτου γραψ τα □□ ταυτα  
 εις πεταλον κασσιτερινον αχαχαηλ: χαχου: μαρμα  
 ριουτι και φορει περι τον τραχηλον μετ' επικαλεσας  
 490 εισελθε παρα σεαυτω κομισον τον λυχνον και κοιμω  
 επι ψιαθ[ο]ν η καυη: // ✱ λαβων θειον και Νειλοκα

✱ ———

λαμης σπερμα επιθνε προς την σεληνην κς λεγε  
 επικαλουμαι σε κυρια Ἰσι η συνεχωρησεν ο αγαθος  
 δαιμων βασιλευων εν τω τελειω μελανι το □  
 σουλον: λουλου: βαθαρθαρ: θαρησιβαθ: αθερέκλησιχ  
 495 αθερνεβονι: ηιχομω: χομωθι: ισισωθι:  
 σονηρι: βουβαστις: ευρέλιβατ': χαμαρι: νεβουτος:  
 ονηρι: αιη: ησα: ωαι: διαφυλαξατε με τα μεγαλα  
 και θαυμαστα □□ του θεου] κ̅οι̅ ὅτι εγω ειμι ὁ εν τω  
 Πηλουσιω καθ'ἰδρυμενος σερφουθ: μονῖδρω:  
 500 στρομμω: μολωθ: μολονθηρ: φονθωθ: δια  
 φυλαξατε μοι τα μεγαλα και θαυμαστα ονοματα του  
 μεγαλου θεου κ̅οι̅ ασαω: εῖω: νισαωθ: κυρια  
 Ἰσις Νεμεσις Αδρασθεια πολυνυμε πολυμορφε  
 δοξασον μοι ως εδοξασα το □ του νῖους σου Ωρος κ̅οι̅

✱ ———

505 συστασις ἰδίου δαιμονος  
 χαιρετε τυχη και δαιμον του τοπου τοῦτου και ενεστωσα  
 ωρα και η ενεστωσα ημερα και πασα ημερα χαιρε  
 το περιεχον ὁ εστιν γη και ουρανος χαιρε  συ γαρ ει ο επι  
 του αγιου στηριγματος σεαυτον ἰδρυσας αορατω φαι·  
 510 ορκορηθαρα: συ ει ὁ πατηρ του παλιγγενους αιωνος  
 ζαραχθω: συ ει ὁ πατηρ της απλατου φυσεως θορχοφανω:  
 συ ει ο εχων εν σεαυτω την τῆς κοσμικης φυσεως συγκρασι  
 και γεννησας τους ἑ̅ πλανητας αστερας οι εισιν ουρα  
 νου σπλαγχνα και γης εντερα και ὑδατος χυσις και πυρος  
 515 θρασος: αζαμαχαρ: α[ν]αφανδω: ερενα: ανερενα:  
 φενφενσω: ἑ̅γ̅ραα: συ ει ο νεος ευγενης εγγονος ὁ του  
 αγιου ναου ο ὄνυ̅γενης τη ἱεραλιμη τη καλουμένη αβυσσω

Line 486 φυλ\*: i.e. φυλακτήριον.

Line 488. μετ': apparently adverbial, "afterwards."

Line 490. η καυη: apparently = "where it is fresh."

Lines 490-504. Invocation addressed to Isis, for protection and help.

Lines 505-528. συστασις ἰδίου δαιμονος: this appears to mean

a description of the nature of the deity specially presiding over the person using the charm.

Line 511. The fourth letter of the last word of the line may perhaps be a χ, but it appears to be the Coptic letter Ζ.

Line 517. συγγενης: ευ written above, apparently as correction for συγ.

παρεστω σοι τοις δυσι βασεσιν σκιαφι: και μαντω κ  
 520 εκεινηθη της γης τα δ̄ θεμειλια ο των ολων δεσποτης  
 αγιε καθαρε: αω: σαθρεν αβρασαξ: ιαωαι αεω:  
 ηωα: ωαη: ιαω: ηο: ευ: αη: ευ: ιε: ιαω: αι το □ γβ  $\frac{f}{4}$

(Col. 15.)

εις ωα δυο αρρενικα και τω μεν ενι περικαθαιρεις σεαντον  
 και εκλιξας το □ εκβαλε καταξας το δ' ετερον κρατει τη δεξια  
 χειρι παρανεωγμενη δεικνυν τω  $\searrow$  προς ανατολας και  
 525 ελαιας κλαδους επαιρε δε σου την χειραν την δεξιαν τη  
 ευωνυμω ὑποβασταξας τον αγκωνα και ειπων τον λ̄ ζ̄  
 και απολιψας ροφησον ποιει επι ημερας β̄ προς ανατολην  
 και δυσιν διωκων τον λ̄  $\searrow$  νικητικον  $\searrow$   $\searrow$  εισακουσον μου

※ —

του †  $\searrow$  κυριε θεε μεγιστε ο τα όλα συνεχων και ζωογονων  
 530 και συνκρατων τον κοσμον εις ον τα παντα χωρει αφ ου κ  
 εγενετο ακαματε ειηιε: εληιε: ιεωα: ρουβα: αναμαω:  
 μερμαω: χαδαμαθα αρδαμαθα πεφρε αναμαλαζω  
 φηχεινδευ· ενεδερεν· σ̄ματοι μερμερεω αμαλαξιφια·  
 μερσιφια· ερεμε· θαστευ· παπιε· φερεδωναξ̄ αναϊε  
 535 κελεω αμαραμαστωρ: μωρμαρησιο νεουθων: αλαω:  
 αγελαω: αμαρ: αμαστωρ: μωρμασι: σουθων: αναμαω:  
 γαλαμαραρμα· εισακουσον μου κ̄ε  $\searrow$  κα[ι] γενεσθω το † □ ε̄ φ̄  
 λεγ· επιθων επ ανθρακ· δρῡνων κοιφι ῑερατικον ω με  
 μιχθω κρειου· ολομελανος εγκεφαλος και κατ αναγκης αλευρα

540

λυχνομαντιαν

σ[ι]δηραν λυχνιαν θες επι του απηλιωτικου μερους εν οικω  
 καθαρω και επιθεις λυχνον αμιλτωτον αψονητω δε το ελλυ  
 χνιον απο λινου καινου απτε δε λιβανω ειτα επιθιβε λιβανω̄  
 545 επι ξυλων αμπελινων ο δε παις εστω αφθορος καθαρος  
 λ̄ φισιο: ιαω: αγεανουμα: σκαβαρω σκασαβρωσου ασαβρω  
 επιδεομαι ὕμων εν τη σημερον ημερα εν τη αρτι ωρα  
 φανηται τω παιδι τουτω το φως και τον  $\searrow$  μαντευσει ριμανε  
 ησι τον ανουβιν τ[ο]ν παντων θεων ὑπερετην κα[ι]  
 ποιησον τον παιδα κατασπασθηναι και ἴδειν τους θεους  
 550 τους εις την μαντιαν παραγινομενους παντας φανηθι  
 μοι εν τη μαντ' ο μεγαλοφρων θεος τρισμεγας Ερμης

Line 521.  $\frac{f}{4}$  = ζυμνομελανι.

Lines 528-539. An invocation addressed to the sun, to secure victory.

Line 537.  $\eta \epsilon \phi$ : apparently = *πρὸ πέντε ὥρων*.

Lines 540-578. Divination by use of a lamp and a boy, the latter being the actual recipient of the vision.

Line 542. *αψονητω*: apparently a dialectic variety for *ἀπείσθω*.

Line 549. *κατασπασθηναι*: this evidently means "to be rapt away in a trance."



φανητω ὁ τα τεσσαρα μερη του ουρανου και τα τεσσαρα  
 θεμιλεια της γης ρεσεννηεθω: βασνεραιπαν: θαλθαχθα:  
 χωθχ· χινεβωθ: χινεχωθ: μιμυλωθ: μασυντορι·  
 555 αστωβι ἡκε μοι ὁ εν τω ουρανῳ ἡκε μοι ὁ εκ του  
 ωον ορκιζω ὑμας κατα του εν τω ταψατι λεγη νισθω  
 η λεγη σερφουθ: μουϊσρω: λεγε οι δυο θεοι οι περι σε  $\overline{\theta\alpha\theta}$   
 καλειται ὁ εις θεος ο εσωτερος  $\overline{\alpha\phi}$  καλουκαγω  $\overline{\eta\iota}$ · σεσοφηϊ:  
 βαῦνχωωωχ ο  $\lambda\delta$  ο λεγομενος ηκε μοι το πνευμα το αερο

(Col. 16.)

560 πετες καλουμενον συμβολοις και ονομασιν αφθεκτοις  
 επι την λυχνομαντιαν ταυτην ην ποιω και εμβηθι  
 αυτου εις την ψυχην ἵνα τυπωσεται την αθανατον  
 μορphen εν φωτι κραταιω και αφθαρτω οτι αδων  
 καλω ἱαω ελwai μαρμαραχαδα· μενεφω: μερμαι  
 565 ιηωρ: αιεω: ηρεφιε: φερεφιω· χανδουχαμων  
 ερεπνευ· ζωνωρ· ακλευαμενηθωνι· καδελαπεν  
 ιωπλατινε· ρεαωθ: ιηϊ· ωηϊ· ασηφ: μεδχηνωρ  
 αλαχαλ· περεχαηλ· σερενωφ· δονναξ· αναξιβοα·  
 ερεβεβω· βεβωβια· ανησιοδευ· ἱαωα· ενιωεαλ·  
 570 εμερω· μασαιανδῶα δευρο μοι κυριε επι τω αχραντω  
 φωτι οχουμενος αψευδης και αμηνι[τ]ος εμοι και τω  
 εποπτη σου παιδι μαρμαριαν· αναψιχαλαω: ποεε  
 νιψεουα: αιετυ αρενωθης ανερωφης ἱθυναρεμ·  
 ωσιηρ: αναψιχυων· πελημιχαλης· φανηθι  $\lambda$   $\gamma$   
 575 εαν ειπησ ορω τον  $\kappa\overline{\nu}$  συ εν τω φωτι λεγε αγιευμερι·  
 ειτεσου· εντωτηριοα· μενησομιωω αλαμαωρ·  
 χωχενεμητωρ· και ουτως αποκρινεται ερωτα·  
 αρσερετωθι· ουημαντουρ

✕ ———

φυλακτηριον σωματοφυλαξ προς δαιμονας προς φαντασματα  
 580 προς πασαν νοσον και παθος επιγραφομενον επι χρυσεον  
 πεταλον η αργυρεον η κασσιτερινον η εις ἱερατικον χαρτ· φοροῦ  
 μενον στρατιωτικως εστιν εστιν γαρ δυναμειωσ ονομα του  
 μεγαλου θῦ και σφραγισ εστιν δε ως υποκειται κμηφισ·  
 χφυρις: ιαεω ιαω αση ιαω ωω αιων ιαεω βαφρενε  
 585 μουν οθιλαρικριφιαενειαι φερκικρα λιθαννομάι νερφαβω  
 και τα[ν]τα τα  $\square\alpha$  τον δε χαρακτηρα ουτως εστω ο δρακων

Line 557. λεγε: should be λεγερε.

Lines 579-592. A charm to secure the user against demons and apparitions, and all illness and suffering.

Line 586. ο δρακων ουροβορος: see the figure at the end of this charm, which is given in the photograph. The writing inside the circle described by the snake is that given in the

text (ll. 583-6) from κμηφισ to νερφαβωει (with some variations of spelling, and omitting the six words following χφυρις), together with the figures which follow in l. 588 and several others, the prayer διαφυλασσε... του  $\Delta$  (ll. 589, 590), and the additional word *κοινα*. The snake is also surrounded by letters, which, however, form no intelligible word.

ουροβορος τα δε  $\square\square$  μεσον του δρακοντος και οι χαρακτηρες  
 ουτως ως υποκειται  $\Lambda \text{ III} \text{ V} \text{ W} \text{ Z} \cdot \text{Z}$  ( $\text{II} \supset$  το δε σχημα  
 ολον ουτως ως υποκειται οτι διαφυλασσε μου το σωμα την  
 590 ψυχην ολοκληρον εμου του  $\hat{\alpha}$  και τελεσας φορει·

(Col. 17.)

ελθε μοι [ακ]ση ουρανου ελθε μοι ακ[ση αερω]ν ελθε μοι  
 ακοη γης και τα λοιπα ως υποδεικ[νυ]ται  $\omega\omega\omega$

# VERSO.

The first two columns of writing on the *verso* are in a different hand from that of the bulk of the papyrus, and notice of them is therefore deferred till after the conclusion of the continuous document.

(Col. 18.)

αγωγή ασχολου λαβων . . . . . υζον  
 αμιλτωτων ποιησον ελλυχνιο[ν] . . . πλοιο<sup>ν</sup>  
 595 νεναναγηγοτος και επι μεν του  $[\bar{a}]$  ελλυχνιο<sup>ν</sup>  
 γβ ζβ  $\dot{\iota}\alpha\omega$ : επι του  $\bar{\beta}$  αδωναι επι του  $\bar{\gamma}$   
 $[\sigma\alpha]$ βαωθ: επι του  $\bar{\delta}$  παγουρη επι του  $\bar{\epsilon}$  μαρ  
 $\mu[\sigma\rho]$ ουθ: επι του  $\bar{\varsigma}$  ιαεω επι του  $\bar{\zeta}$  μιχαηλ  
 και βαλ<sup>ω</sup> ελαιον εις τον λυχνον θες επι θυριδα  
 600 τω νοτω βλεπουσαν ητω δε και αρτεμισιας  
 σπιρα εις τον λυχνον και διωκε τον  $\lambda$  επικαλουμ<sup>ι</sup>  
 $\dot{\iota}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  τους δυναστας μεγαλους θεους τους  
 λαμπυριζομενους εν τη αρτι  $\omega[\rho]$ α εν τη  
 $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  ημερα χαριν της ασεβους  $\hat{\alpha}$  ειρηκεν  
 605 οτι σαβαωθ εβαλεν τας τρις κραυκας η  $\hat{\alpha}$  ειρηκε  
 οτι ο παγο<sup>ν</sup>υ<sup>ρ</sup>η αρσενοθηλυσ εφη η  $\hat{\alpha}$  ειρηκεν  
 οτι ο μαρμορουθ απεκοπη η  $\hat{\alpha}$   $\epsilon[\iota]$ ρηκεν  
 οτι ο ιαεω ουκ<sup>ω</sup> επιστευθη την λαρνακα η  $\hat{\alpha}$   
 ειρηκεν οτι ο μιχαηλ αρσενοθηλυσ εφη:  
 610 ουκ<sup>ω</sup> εγω  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\iota$  ο λεγων δεσποτα αλλ<sup>ω</sup> η ασεβης  $\hat{\alpha}$   
 δι  $\acute{o}$  αξατε μοι αυτην φλεγομενην  $\ddot{\upsilon}[\rho\omicron]$ τασσομενη

Lines 593-619. A form of imprecation against a woman, whom the person using it desires to get into his power.

Line 594. There is a similar instruction to use a plain uncoloured lamp in Leyden Pap. V. 4, 25, and in l. 542 above.

Line 596. γβ ζβ: *i.e.* γράφε ζμύρη or ζμυρνομέλανι; cf. Pap. cxii. 57.

Line 598. The  $\omega\omega\omega$  above the line is written in faint ink, like the marginal notes below.

Line 599. βαλ<sup>ω</sup>: *i.e.* βαλῶν.

Line 601. Marginal note in faint ink: *κατα περι[βολην] του λυχνου*, = in form of bandage round the lamp, explanatory of the indefinite *εις*.

Line 604. αυτη γαρ: in the fainter ink.

Line 605. Marginal note in faint ink, which makes the reading doubtful,  $\bar{a}$  οτι ο ιαω πλευρας ουκ εχει β  $\sigma\tau\iota$  αδωναι επι  $\chi\alpha\omega$  βια εβληθη.

Line 606. εφη: surely for εφν, and so three lines lower.

Line 608.  $\omega\omega\omega$ : in the fainter ink.

- ὑπνο<sup>ν</sup> μη νυχειν μεχρις ελθη προς εμε λεγε ζ̄  
 εαν μεν ο π[ρω]τος λυχνος τεταρη γνω οτι ειλημπται  
 ὑπο του δαιμονος εαν δε ο β̄ εξηλθεν εαν δε ο γ̄ περί  
 615 πάτει εαν δε ο δ̄ ηκει εαν δε ο ε̄ ηκει εις τον πυλῶνα  
 ο ς̄ εις τον πεσσον ο ζ̄ ηκει εις την οικιαν αγει δε και  
 διαποντιους ινα αυτον τον λυχνον [ε]νθης εν ὕδατιω  
 ὑπο . . . . . κατω π . . . . αρ εις παπυρινη  
 και δι[ωκε τον] δ̄ # εκ του διαδηματος Μουσεως
- 620 κυνοκεφαλ[ι]διον βοτ- λαβ- και εχε ὑπο την γλωτταν σο<sup>ν</sup>  
 και πρωι αναστα πριν λαλης επιλεγε τα □ και αθεωρητός  
 εσει προς παντας επαν δε επι ποτ[η]ρια ειπης και δωσης  
 γυναικι φιληι λεγε εως εστιν επι παι[τα τ]ον δ̄ ουτως  
 —  
 αρεσκιλλιους : θουδαλεσαι κραμμ . . . σι χαμμαρ  
 —
- 625 μουλαβωθ : λαναβαρ : χουφαρ : φο . . φωρβαω : σαχι  
 —  
 αρβαχ : μαχιμασω ιαω σαβαωθ αδωναι προς ο θελεις  
 λεγε ποιησον την ᾠ προς τον ᾠ κοῖ οσα θελεις

(Col. 19.)

- λαβων καλαβωτην απ[ο νγ]ρου εασον αυτον  
 εις κρινινον εως αν αποθεωθη επειτα γλυψῶ  
 630 τον εν Μεμφει Ασκληπιον επι δακτυλιον  
 σιδηρου απο αναγκαπεδης και βαλε εις κρινι  
 νον ελαιον και οτε χρηζη λαβων τον δακτυ  
 λιον δειξον τη αρκτω λεγων τον δ̄ ζ̄ μενωφρι·  
 ὁ επει τα χερο[υ]βιν καθημενος πεμψον μοι  
 635 τον αληθινον Ασκληπιον διχα τινος αντι  
 θεου πλανοδαιμονος ειτα ενεγκ[ο]ν το θυμια  
 τηρον οπου μελλεις κοιμασθαι κ[αι] θυσον λιβ<sup>ν</sup>  
 κοκκους γ̄ και περιένεγκον το δακ[τ]υλιον ἐπι  
 της ατμιτος του λιβ<sup>ν</sup> λεγων ζ̄ τον [δ̄] χαναψ :  
 640 ωαιαιψ : ωακλνσιφθα : κυριε Ασκληπιε  
 φανῆντι και φορε τον δακ<sup>ν</sup> εις την δεξ<sup>ν</sup> χειρ εν τω  
 —  
 λιχανω

Line 612. νυχειν : so apparently, a slip for τυχειν.

Line 613. τεταρη : so apparently; perhaps a form from *παράσσω*. γνω : the reading is doubtful.

Line 617. διαποντιους : the fifth and sixth letters are doubtful.

Lines 619-627. A short charm for securing invisibility.

Line 619. εκ του διαδηματος Μουσεως : apparently a reference to one of the many magical books ascribed to Moses. Thus in Leyden Pap. W. i. 19, we have εν τη κλειδι Μουσης, and other references in the same papyrus. Cf. note on Pap. xlvι 109.

Line 620. κυνοκεφαλίδιον βοτανην : cf. Pap. xlvι. 198.

Lines 628-642. An invocation of Asclepius.

Line 628. καλαβωτην : = *ἀσκαλαβώτην*, as in LXX., the spotted lizard. The blood of this reptile is an ingredient in a charm given in Leyden Pap. V. 13, 1.Line 629. εις κρινινον : sc. *ἐλαιον*, cf. l. 632.

Line 636. αντιθεου πλανοδαιμονος : a phrase clearly indicating Gnostic conceptions of hostile and malign influences among the supernatural powers.

Line 637. λιβ<sup>ν</sup> : i.e. *λιβάνου* or *λιβανωτού*.

π̄ λιαν θαυμαστον λ̄ λεγομ̄· εις το ποτηριον λ̄ ζ̄  
 συ ει οινος ουκ ει οινος αλλ' η κεφαλη της Αθηνas  
 645 συ ει οινος ουκ ει οινος αλλα τα σπλα[γ]χνα του Οσιρεως  
 τα σπλαγχνα του ἱαω πακερβηθ: σεμες ιλαμ  
 ωωω η παταχναιασα κατ αναγκας αβλαναθ'  
 ακραμμ̄· εεε ὁ ἐπι της αναγκης τεταγμενος  
 ιακουβ ια ιαω σαβαωθ' αδωναι [α]βρασας εφησωρας  
 650 εαν καταβη τ[οδ] εις τα σπλαχνα [η] ἰ φιλησατω  
 με τον ἰ . . απ . . τκ . . η . αυτης χρονον

αγρυπνη[τε]κον δια νυκτεριδος αιμα μελανης  
 βοος η α[ρ]υ[ν]ος η τυφωνιου εξερετως δε αιγος γρ  
 655 επι της δ[ε]ξιας πτερυγ· βωρφωρ φορβα φορφαρβα  
 φορβωρ φορβα: φορβα φορβα φορβα: βαφαιη:  
 φο . . φωρ βαρβα: ενυποτοερ . . . . . πλινθιδ  
 και . . . . . βουλει ετ . . ιε . . . . . νυμου πτερυγος  
 γρ . . . . . [τ]ω αυτω τυπω φορφωρ: φορβα: βορφορ  
 φορβα: βορφορ: φορβα φορφορ: φορβαβωρ:  
 660 βορβορβα: φωρφωρφορβα ομ̄ιδι κ̄ιδι ως βουλει:

φιλτρον επι λαληματος κατα φιλων λ̄ ανοκ:  
 θαρενεπιβαθα: χθουχχαανοοαανок χαριεμοχθ̄:  
 λαϊλαμ

(Col. 20.)

665 ονειρ: λαβων βυσσι . . . . . [τ]ο πραγμα  
 και ειλησας κλωνα ελαιας θε[ς] προς κεφαλην  
 σοῦ ὑπο το αριστερον μερος της κεφαλης και  
 κοιμω αγνος εις ψιαθον χαμαι λεγων τον λ̄ ζ̄  
 προς τον λυχνον Ερμη παν[το]κρατωρ ενκαρ  
 670 διε κυκλε σεληνης στρογγυλε τετραγωνε λο  
 γων αρχηγετα γλωσσης πευθο δικεσυν χλα  
 μυδηφορε χρυσοπεδιδε θερι[ο]ν δρομον ειλις

Lines 643-651. A love-charm.

Line 643. π̄: the exact nature of the abbreviation is doubtful, but it may possibly stand for *ποίημα*.

Line 646. σεμες ιλαμ: usually written ειλाम. Cf. note on Pap. xlvi. 350.

Line 649. εφησωρας: the ω is doubtful, and there may possibly be more than one letter in its place.

Lines 652-660. A charm to produce sleeplessness.

Line 661. επι λαληματος κατα φιλων: apparently a charm to secure the user from the talkativeness of his friends.

Lines 664-685. A charm for procuring supernatural appear-

ances or information through dreams.

Line 664. ονειρ: i.e. *ὄνειρασιτην*, the name of a common class of spells. Cf. II. 222, 250, 359.

Line 668. This hymn occurs again in Pap. xlvi. 400-419. πάντοκρατωρ: Pap. xlvi., κοσμοκρατωρ.

Line 669. τετραγωνε: Pap. xlvi., και τετραγωνε, which is required by the metre.

Line 670. πευθο δικεσυν: so, apparently; Pap. xlvi., πειθο δικαιοσυνη.

Line 671. χρυσοπεδιδε: Pap. xlvi., πτηνοπεδιδε. θεριον: for αιθριον.



- σων ὑπο ταρταρα γαιης πνευματος ηελιου  
 ηνιοχε αθανων τε λαμ' πασι τερπων τους  
 ὑπο ταρταρα γαιης βροτους β[ιου] εκτελεσαντες  
 675 μοιρων τε κλωστηρ σοι λεγοι θειος ονειρος  
 ημερινους και νυκτερινου[ς χ]ρησμονς επιτεμπω  
 ιασε παντων βροτων αλγην[ατ]α θεραπευεις  
 δευρο μακαρ της τελεσιφρονο[ς] ὑιε μεγαστε  
 680 συ μορφη ἱλαρω δε νωω διγμανθεις δε αφθαρτω  
 κουργω: μαντοσυνην εκπεμψον αληθη οιος  
 —  
 ενμιγαδων: ορθω: βαυβω: ν. σηρε: κοδηρε  
 —  
 δοσηρε: συρε: συροε: σανκιστη: δωδεκακιστη:  
 —  
 ακρουροβορε: κοδηρε: ρινωτον: κουμεντανα:  
 —  
 ρουβιθα: νουμιλα: περφερο . . : αρουωρη:  
 685 αρουηρ: λεγε επτακις και κοινα οσα θελεις.  
 —  
 αρκτικη  
 αρκετε αρκετε αρχουσα του ουραν[ου] και του συνπαντος  
 κοσμου "και των αστρων η στρεφουσα τον αξονα  
 και κρατουσα [του ο]λου συστηματος βια και αναγκη  
 δεομενος και ικετευων οπως ποιησης το 4  
 690 εντυχανω σοι οτι επικαλουμαι σε τοις αγιοις σου  
 ονομασιν εν οίς χαιρει σοι ἡ θειοτης ων ου δυνη  
 [παρ]ακουσαι βριμω ρηξιχθων: προκνη βαυβω  
 . . . . . ἱανμωρ: αμωρ . . . . . ηα: ελαφηα  
 αμ . . . . . αφρου . . . πακιδαμει αβουλοδαμεια  
 695 αμα . μαεννια δαρδανοπαια α . νκ . . δρομα .  
 βιασανδρα δαμασανδρα . καδεσανδρα . κατανι  
 κανδρα . λιχρισσα . φαεσσα . ψωαρια : ἱωερνυμια :  
 ιωμαπη : φυλακη . προσκοπ . χαρις : τρυφαιρα :  
 προστασις : αδαμαντα . αδαμαντειρα : ιω δαμνα  
 700 μενια : βρεξερικανδαρα : πα . ὑπαταταυριατα :

Line 672. The following lines are hopelessly corrupt, both sense and metre being lost. It shows how completely these spells had become matters of unmeaning repetition by rote.

Line 673. λαμ' πασι: the μ has been added later.

Line 674. εκτελεσαντες: should be εκτελεσαντας.

Line 675. κλωστηρ: in sense of "spinner," not "thread" or "spindle," which are its classical uses. Pap. xlvi. gives προγνωστης. σοι λεγοι: corruption for συ λεγῃ.

Line 677. ιασε: for ιασαι. θεραπευεις: superfluous in sense, as there is a verb already. Pap. xlvi. gives the correct reading, ταις σοις θεραπειαις.

Line 678. της: corrupt; Pap. xlvi., μητης.

Line 679. συ: against metre; Pap. xlvi., ση. The remainder is very corrupt, and represents a different original from Pap. xlvi. διγμανθεις: apparently = δεικνυθεις.

Lines 681-683. The same incantation recurs, with some

varieties of spelling, in ll. 896-898.

Lines 686-702. An invocation, applicable apparently to any purpose, addressed to the constellation of the Bear (ἄρκτος), which no doubt obtained the character ascribed to it below, as ruler of the system of the heavens, from its being the only conspicuous constellation which never sets in the northern hemisphere: οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοῖτρων Ὀκεάνιο.

Line 688. There is an α written above the first letter of και, but it is not clear what its purpose is.

Line 690. δεομενος κ.τ.λ.: written in between the lines in fainter ink.

Line 691. εν appears to be deleted.

Line 696. The names in this invocation differ from those in most of the similar charms in these collections, in being formed from Greek instead of Coptic or Hebrew.

αφθεγκτε: πυροσωματε: προ . . . . με χαρχαροπε  
πλε ποιησονται τα κοι

(Col. 21.)

ονειραιτητον γρ . . . . ν χαρ . . θαρω  
σε καλω τον καταλαμποντα την ολην οικον  
705 μενην και την οικητον ου εστιν το ονομα  
γραμματων λ εν ω εστιν τα επτα φωναεντα  
δι ων παν ονομαζε[τ]ε θεοι κυριοι  
ραραπαε: αβραϊη: ιραρα πανουω αραωαχ  
γρ λ . . εωνωη αιη ιαωη υωει χρηματισα[τε μοι]  
710 κυριοι περι του ἁ πραγματος βεβαιως και δια  
μνημης ψιχομ μοραρουχ: ψιχομ: αρασκελλιθ:  
ψιχομ μορακανψ ψιχομμο αρατοποθ:  
κυριοι δοξης χρηματισατε μοι περι του ἁπραγμα  
τος εν ταυτη τη νυκτι θωουθ φευβη χαρφρανθι  
715 φρε κοι οσα θελεις και το μεν ου των λ γραμματων  
γραφον β̄ ≡ πτερυγια ουτως ≡  
ραραπαεαβραϊηϊραραπα' ο'νωαβραωαχ  
ραραπαεαβραϊηιραραπαουωαβραωαχ: α)  
ω)  
χαωαβραων[α]οπαραιτηιαρβαεαπαραρ  
720 ραρ ( α α )  
ρ ( ω ω ) ρ)  
( ιεωνωη . . . . . )  
( ε )  
γρ ως ὑποκειτ και την . . . . . θελεις και υποθες  
725 ὑπο τον λυχνον το . . . . . ν αγνος ων κοιμω  
μηδενι δος αποκρισιν εν τηθλχ

Απολλωνος αυτοπτος εν οικω επιπεδω χωρις φωτος  
στεφανωσαμενος σαμψουχινω στεφανω υπο  
δησαμενος λυκια υποδηματα διωκε τον λ τουτον λ  
730 . . . . εφεγγαρχα: μερ . . . . εφια: γαργεφιθ: ερ . . . . οιε:  
. . . . . γερλυχα: μερ . . . . ρ: ιθαρα: φερξει: αρ . . . .  
. . . . . ωριθαρξει: ερφιβιλχιε: ζειραβελβη: βιχα:  
αρθια: μηλιχια: εργα. γερφι: ιωχερφει: καργω. αρα

Lines 703-726. Another charm for procuring visions.

Line 706. The use made of the seven vowels is repeatedly exemplified in these papyri. One reason is that they form an amplification of the name *ιαω* or *ιαεω* which represented the Hebrew name of the Deity. The name consisting of thirty letters is evidently that given in l. 708 and repeated in ll. 717-719 below.

Line 719. This is the same name as in the two preceding

lines, reversed, but the *α* and *ο* which stand as tenth and eleventh letters should be transposed.

Line 721. A gap of about an inch follows this line.

Line 726. τηθλχ: the second letter is apparently a Coptic character.

Lines 727-739. A spell for procuring an appearance of Apollo in person, and getting information from him on any subject required.

- 735 εαρμιλιχα : αθερθαφθω αθθερθαφι : αρναχερββι  
ταυτα ειποντος ελευσεται ο θς Απολλων σπονδ[ι]ον  
εχων συ δε πυθου πε[ρι] ου θελεις μνημης διδουσιν  
εαν εθελης και εαν αι[τ]ησεις δωσει σοι απο του σπονδειου  
πειν : απολυσις ερκικχι : βελτσημιλιχα : αρχαρζειρ :  
φιζωρ : γειρφει : —

(Col. 22.)

- 740 εις [πτ]υχιον κασσιτερ και επιστεφανωσας  
μυρτοις το πτυχιον θες το θυμιατηριον  
επιθνε δε λιβανον και περινεγκον λεγων  
περι την ατμιδα το πεταλον κυριοι θεοι  
χρηματισατε μοι περι του † πραγματος  
745 ταυτη τη νυκτι ταις επερχομεναις ωραις  
παντως δεομαι ικετευω δουλος ημετερος  
και τεθρονισμενος υμιν επειτα θεις υπο το  
προκεφαλ το π[τ]υχιν κοιμω μηδενι δους  
αποκρισιν αγ[ν]ευσας ημερας γ δ ο γραφο  
750 μουαμου : αν[ι]αω αβαρβαρασα α[ι]ω βαωα  
χφ[η]ουρις αωβ : αμοαδωναι : ωιγ  
ιιι οθθονω αορχα αρορχα χαξυν[η]ρε  
θιραρι θθω χωθ ερρε : οχω ανα  
ηεφρορε : χειο η[ι]ν ιηιω ωωααμαλθε  
755 οοο ωωω ωωα γραφον χαλκω γραφιω :  
... ... ... ... ... ...  
επικαλουμαι σε πανμορφον και πολυωνυ  
μον δικαιρατον θεαν μηνιν ης την μορφη  
ουδε εις επισταται πλην ο ποιησας τον συμπαντα  
κοσμον ιαω ο σχηματισας εις τα εικοσι και  
760 οκτω σχηματα του κοσμο<sup>ν</sup> ινα πασαν ειδεαν  
αποτελεσης και πνευμα εκαστω ζωω και  
φυτω νεμεσιν ευερη εξ αφανους η εις φως  
αυξανομενη και απο φωτος εις σκοτος  
αποληγουσα : —

- 765 Ο α συνιτροπος τ[ου] ονοματος σιγη

Line 735. σπονδ[ι]ον : there is not room for ει in the lacuna, and ι often represents the diphthong in these papyri.

Line 738. πειν : probably for πινειν. απολυσις : formula for dismissing the god.

Lines 740-794. A charm for general purposes. It is not certain how far it continues, or whether a new charm is commenced at l. 756 or at l. 765.

Line 744. μοι : a line has been drawn through the οι and ι written above.

Line 756. τυχη : in very faint ink.

Line 757. δικαιρατον : may mean "two-headed" or "two-horned," according as the diphthong is taken to stand for an α or ε; but more probably the latter, the "two-horned goddess" being either Isis or the Moon.

- ο β ποππυσμος  
ο γ στεναγμος  
ο δ συρισμος  
ο ε ολολυγμος  
770 ο ς πυγμος  
ο ζ υλακμος  
ο η μυκηθμο[s]  
ο θ χρεματισμ[o]s  
ο ι φθογγος εναρμονιος  
775 ο ια πνευμα φωναεν  
ο ιβ ηχος [α]νεμοποιος  
ο ιγ, φθογγος [α]ναγκαστικος  
ο ιδ τελειωτητος αναγκαστικη απορροια.

(Col. 23.)

- εις μειωσιν αρχουσα αποληγειν και εστιν σου  
780 βους γνψ ταυρος κανθαρος ιεραξ καρκινος  
κυων λυκος δρακων ιππος χιμαιρα  
θερμουθις αρξ τραγος κυνοκεφαλος  
αιλουρος λεων παρδαλις μυγαλος λεων  
ελαφος πολυμορφος παρθενος λαμπας  
785 αστραπη στελμα κηρυκιον παις κλεις  
ει[ρ]ηκα σου τα σημεια και τα συμβολα  
το[v] ονοματος ινα μοι επακουσης οτι συ σοι  
επενχομαι τη δεσποινη του παντος κοσμου  
επακουσον μο' η μονημος η κρατεια  
790 αφερβοηω μυντηρ οχαιω πιζεφ υδωρ  
χανθαρ χαδηροζο : μοχθιονο τνευ  
φηρζον αιωδης λαχαβωω πιττω  
ριφθαμερ ζμομοχωλειε τηδραντεια  
οισοζοχαβηδωφρα κδι  
795 Ον<sup>αφ</sup> Πυθαγορου [και] Δημοκριτου ονειρο  
μαντες μαθηματικος ο εισερχομενος  
αγγελος ηλιω υποτετακται και ως υπο

Line 779. σου : so corrected, apparently, from σοη.

Line 782. αρξ : so written, but probably a slip of the pen for αιξ.

Line 783. μυγαλος : the masculine form is not classical, μυγαλη being the correct form for "shrew mouse."

Line 786. An empty space is left in the middle of the line,

but the sense is not interrupted.

Line 787. συ : superfluous.

Line 791. μοχθιονο : the reading is doubtful.

Lines 795-845. A spell for procuring visions in dreams, ascribed to Pythagoras and Democritus.



- 800 τεταγμενος ηλιω εισερχεται ουτως εν φι  
 λω σου ου γνωριζεις σχηματι εισερχεται  
 εχων αστερα εκλαμπρον επι της κεφαλης  
 ποτε δε και πυραιων εισερχεται εχων αστεραν :  
 λαβων ουν κ' λ' αδον δαφνης επιγρ εις εκαστον  
 φυλλ- ζωδιον κινναβαρει και το □ αυτου  
 [τ]ου ζωδιου προσϋπογραφων εστεμμενος  
 805 κ[α]ι αυτη η πραξις ε . . . . δι ο εν στερ  
 νοις εχων τα υ̅π̅ εμου σοι δηληθεντα  
 και μετα την απολυσιν του βιου του εμου  
 οσιως πραξης επιτευξη >>>—

εστιν δε

- 810 κριου αρμονθαρθωχα  
 ταυρου νεοφοβωθα θοψ β  
 διδυμ- αρισταναβα ζω γ  
 καρκι- πχορβαζαναχου θ δ  
 λεοντ- ζαλαμοιρλαλιθ Δ δ  
 815 παρθε- ειλεσιλαρμου φαι \*Ζ- >Ξ<  
 ζυγου- ταντινουραχθ  
 σκορπιω- χορχορναθ  
 τοξοτου φανθενφυφλια ξ · νυ

(Col. 24.)

- 820 αιγογερ/ αζαζαισθαιλιχ  
 υδρηχ- μεννυθ ιαω  
 ιχθυς- σερυχαρραλμω

λαβων και ετερον φυλ- δαφνης βασιλι η  
 επιγρ κινναβαρει θεου ζωντος □ τουτο

χαλχαναφοεκοσκιανω ιθ

- 825 αλημοτα . . . ας ειχ επιταγας δε επι ημερας γ̅  
 τεγεποιει εντυλισσε τα φυλ- εν σουδαριω κενω  
 κ̅ τιθ̅ υπο την κεφ̅ σου ελθων αερ- δυσμ- επιθυων  
 λιβανον λεγε τον δ̅ επικαλουμαι [σ]ε αγιε αγγελε  
 830 ζιζαυβιω απο της πλειαδος ταξ[ε]ως η υ̅πο̅τεταξ̅αι  
 και δουλευεις απαντα και εις ο αν σ[ο]ι̅ κελουσει σ̅  
 μεγας αφθαρτος πυριπνους εις την ουρανουσιαν

Line 803. ζωδιον : here = one of the signs of the zodiac, the names of which are given below.

Line 805. ε . . . . : parts of the last three letters remain, and look like εος.

Line 819. αιγογερ- : so, for αιγοκερ-.

Line 825. The last four letters of the first word are doubtful.

Line 829. υ̅πο̅τεταξ̅αι : the termination is apparently abbreviated.

Line 830. The breathing over ο is added in fainter ink. The same is the case with η̅ς in l. 832, and ὅσοι in l. 833.

δι ἧς τα πάντα στρεφουσιν ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ὕμας δε  
 αυτούς ὅσοι εστέ ἀγγελοὶ ὑπο τὴν δυνάμιν  
 835 αυτού τεταγμένοι δι' ὃ παρακαλῶ ἵνα ταχεὶ ἐλθῇτε  
 ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταυτῇ καὶ δηλώσητε μοι περὶ ὧν  
 θέλω σαφῶς καὶ βεβαίως ἐξορκίζω σε κυριε  
 ἀνατέλλ . . . κατὰ γαίαν τοσσοῦτον οὐλον κοσμικοῦ καὶ  
 840 ταῦ του κυριενόντος τῇ ὅλῃν οἰκουμένην  
 καὶ ἐνεργετούντος τα πάντα δι' ὃ παρακαλῶ σε  
 ἐν ταυτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ πάντα μοι δηλώσης  
 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἀγγελε

ζιζανβίω ἐλθ' πρὸς εαυτὸν καὶ λιβανωτίσας  
 τὸν κλάδον θεῶν πρὸς κεφαλ[ὴν σου κα]· κοιμῶ ἀγνός  
 845 σχεδὸν δε [σ]·ν ποιείσῃ το παν ἀγνός το δε φυλακτηριον  
 ὅπου το π̄ εγγραφασθες πρὸ κεφ σο· το δε κλα<sup>s</sup> στεφο·

εἰς τὸν ☞ σκία λεγε ἀγνεύσας πρὸς τὸν ☞  
 ἐλθὼν ἐστεμμένος οὐραναιλο . . ἐπὶ . . ε

ἐρβεθ βιθ̄ . . . . . ἀναχαβαρεῖρ  
 λατωρωχ̄ : ἐρβεβριθ̄α : ἀμβριθηρα : ωρυκισγαρ  
 850 λαῖλαμ̄ : ἄωρ ξαρξί θαδαρι ἡσυρφα  
 φωρφι ἀγηρωχη̄ βεβαθᾱ βαρᾱ λιρυνπω̄  
 φερχη̄ ἀμιαρθ̄ θερθι γωρη̄ ἀμυναχαρφᾱ  
 ιργιραμο· θαρφῑ θειριωρν̄ . φεριᾱ  
 855 φορφοροφι : ταυτα εἰπων οψ[ῆ] σκιαν ἐν ☞  
 καὶ καμμύσας ἀναβλεψ[α]ς οψη̄ ε[μ]προσθεν σο·  
 σκιαν ἐστῶσαν καὶ πυνθανου ὃ θέλεις

ἐρβαιγωνυθαρθφθειρ : φυλακτηριον ἡ οὐρα

(Col. 25.)

καὶ οἱ χαρακτῆρες συν τῷ κυκλῷ ἐφ' ἣν στησεὶ γραψῆς κρητῇ  
 οἱ δὲ χαρακτῆρες εἰσὶν οὕτως  
 860                      ο — 3 X E Z X M H  
                     B<sup>z</sup> B<sup>z</sup> V<sup>z</sup> Δ E X

Κλαυδιανὸν σεληνιακὸν καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρκτοῦ τε

Line 840. At the beginning of this line the letters *κο* or *κα* have been written and struck out.

Line 845. *π̄* : so apparently, but the reading is not quite clear.

Lines 846–861. An incantation producing a shadow in the sun, from which information can be procured.

Line 858. *κρητῇ* : evidently the Latin *creta*.

- 865 ἐπ' σεληνιακων η βιβλος η δ αυτη [ω]δε και  
 δια των ηυρεθη εν Αφροδιτοπολει τη θεα μεγαιστη  
 Αφροδιτη ουρανια [η]τις τα παντα περιεχει εστιν δε  
 η κατασκευη της κ[υ]ριας « ουτω γεινομενης λαβων  
 πηλον απο τροχου [κε]ραμικου μιζον μιγματος  
 του θιου και προσβαλε αιγος ποικιλ' αιμα και πλασον  
 870 κυριαν « αιγυπτιαν ως υποκειται σχηματιζο  
 μενην παντομορφον και ποιησον ναον ελαϊνον  
 και προς τον ηλιον μη θεωρηστω το συνολον  
 και τελεσας αυτην τη κατα παντων τελετη  
 και εστε προτετελεσμενη χρησητε αυτην και τω  
 σεληνιακω χρισματι και στεφανωσεις και οψε  
 875 ωρα ε νυκτος απο[θες] αυτην προς « ε[ν τοπ]ω καθαρω  
 επιθυε δε και το σεληνιακον επιθυμα και διωκων  
 το υποκειμενον εξης ονειροπομψησεις κατα  
 δησεις ποιει γαρ μεγαλως προς « κλησις προχρισια  
 μενος δε του χρισματος εντευξη και ο λογος σεληνια-  
 880 επικαλουμαι σε δεσποινα του συνπαντος κοσμου  
 καθηγουμενος του συνπαντος θεα μεγαλοδυναμε  
 . . . . ων ειλαρωτινυχια η ροδια φεροφοιρη αναθρα  
 . . . . νθρα εξουσ . σα τα ιερα σου συμβολα δοστροιζον  
 . . . . ος ιερον αγγελον η παρεδρον οσον διακονη  
 885 . . . . α τη σημει[ρον ν]υκ εν τη αρτι φ προκυριη  
 βαυβω φοβειος μηε κ κελευ αγγελω απελθε[ι]ν  
 προς την φ αξαι αυτην την τριχων των ποδων  
 φοβουμ φανταζομενη αγρυπνουσα επι τω ερωτι μο'  
 κ τη εμου φιλ του φ ηκεις ηκω ωδε ει ωδε εστιν οταν  
 890 δε ειδης την θεαν π[υ]ρραν γεινομενην γνωσκει οτι αγει ηδη  
 κ τοτε λεγε δεσποτικ πεμψον αγγελον σου εκ των  
 παρεδρεωντων σου εξορκιζω τοις μεγαλοις ονομασιν  
 σου α ου δυνασοι παρακουσαι ουτε αεριοι ουτε υπογειοι  
 μεσουρφαβαβαρ : βραλ : ιηω : ισηη : προσκαθηγου  
 895 μενον της νυκτος ελθη μοι καθως επικεκ[λ]ημαι σε

(Col. 26.)

ορθω βαυβω νοηρε κοδηρε σοιρε σοιρε

ερεσχιγαλ : σανκιστη δωδεκακιστη ακρουρο



Lines 862-918. A spell addressed to the moon-goddess, compelling her to the service of the person using it, who requires her to bring the lady of his love to him.

Line 891. *δεσποτικ* : the reading is doubtful, as there appears

to be some character between the ι and the κ.

Line 895. *ελθη* : corrected to *ελθε*.

Lines 896-898. Cf. ll. 681-683.

- βορε : κοδηρε : σαμψει : ακουσον μου των  
 900  $\lambda$  και εκπεμψον σου τον αγγελον τον επι της  $\alpha$   $\phi$   
 διατασσοντα· μενεβαιν και τον επι της  $\beta$   $\phi$   
 νεβουν και τον επι της  $\gamma$   $\phi$  λημει και τον επι  $\delta$   $\phi$   
 μορμοθ :  $\kappa$  τον επι  $\tau$   $\epsilon$   $\phi$  νουφιηρ και τον επι  $\xi$   $\phi$   
 χορβορβαθ : και τον επι της  $\zeta$   $\phi$  ορβεηθ :  
 $\kappa$  τον επι της  $\eta$   $\phi$  πανμωθ : και τον επι της  $\theta$   $\phi$   
 905 θυμενφρι και τον επι της  $\iota$   $\phi$  σαρνοχοιβαλ :  
 και τον επι της  $\iota\alpha$   $\phi$  βαθιαβηλ και τον επι  $\tau$   $\iota\beta$   $\phi$   
 αβραθιαβρι ἵνα μοι ποιησης τοδε αξης . αμασης  
 εν τη σημερον ημερα εν τη σημερον νυκτι  $\kappa$   
 μη δυνηθη η  $\hat{\alpha}$  η ο  $\hat{\alpha}$  επιτυχειν εως ελθουσα  
 910 προς εμε τον  $\hat{\alpha}$  πληροφορουσα αγαπωσα στεργουσα  
 εμε τον  $\hat{\alpha}$  και μη δυνασθη αλλω ανδρι συνιγηται  
 ει μη εμοι μονω πολλακις δε διωκε τον  $\lambda$  και αξη  
 $\kappa$  καταδεσμευσαι και ερασθησεται σου εις τον της ζωης  
 χρονον οταν δε αξης και συγγενηται σοι τοτε αρas  
 915 αποθου την θεαν ουσιαν αυτη δους και  μη δειξης  
 και ου καταπαησεται ερχομενη ερωσα επι δε ονειρο  
 πομπου ωσαντως ποιησεις εως ου απαρτισης  
 α βουλη εστιν δε ισχυρα η δυναμις υποκειται το ζωδιον  
 / ρρρρ—ρρρ—ρρρ—
- 920 Ν θανμαστον  $\overline{\text{U}}$  ο εχε[ις] εν τοις πεδειλοις λαβων λεπιδα  
 Ισιακην γρ χαλκω γραφ και περιθου ων βουλει και  
 ορα τι ποιει πλοιω ιππω και εκπλαγησει εισιν δε  
 οι χαρακτηρες  
 925  $\square$   $\otimes$   $\nu$  33  $\sim$  4  $\ast$  μο —ο ο—  κ ε ε κ  
 θωουθ dos Ν ισχυν δυναμιν τω φορουντι
- αλλο και υποτακτικον λαβων λεπιδα μολιβην  
 απο ζυγου μουλων και γρ χαλκ γρ τα υποκειμενα  $\square$

(Col. 27.)

- και τους χαρακτηρας και θες υπο το πελμα σου  
 του ευωνυμου ποδος λιβανωτισας επιμελως  
 930 εισιν δε

Line 899.  $\phi$ ; *i.e.*  $\omega\rho\alpha$ . ἄγγελος must here have something of its Christian meaning, as a supernatural being, not merely = "messenger." A special ἄγγελος is here ascribed to each hour.

Line 918. A space of two inches is left after this line, in which the figure referred to was to be drawn, but it has not been inserted.

Lines 919-924. Directions for the construction of a charm or amulet, to be worn on the person.

Lines 925-939. Another amulet.

Line 926. *υποτακτικον* : = securing submission on the part of the enemies of the bearer of this charm.







first (ll. 2-52) is an invocation to Hermes, naming his shapes, his attributes, and his titles, and asking for a variety of favours, such as grace, beauty, success, and wealth. The second (ll. 53-63) is a shorter charm of the same character. The third (ll. 64-84) is a spell to procure revelations in dreams, addressed to the god Bes or Besa. A very similar charm, addressed to the same deity, occurs in Pap. CXXI., l. 222 *seq.*; but in the present case there is the addition of a hexameter hymn to the Sun, which is also found in several other papyri. The fourth (ll. 85-110) is a spell to evoke the personal appearance of a god, also similar to one of the spells in Pap. CXXI., but concluding with a description and sketch of a somewhat grotesque figure.

The papyrus measures 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height, and 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  in width; but it is evidently only a portion of a larger sheet, having certainly had a preceding part, and possibly a continuation. It is written in three columns, of about 42 lines each. The writing is uncial, probably of the 4th or 5th century, rather uneducated and irregular, and with several errors of spelling and grammar.

. . . . . τροκα δεσμος αστραψουκου λ

- [Ελθε] μοι κυριε Ερμη ως τα βρεφη εις τα κοιλιας των γυναι  
 [κω]ν ελθε μοι κυριε Ερμη συναγον τας τροφας των θν  
 και ανθρωπων εμοι τω ἅ κυριε Ερμη και δος μοι χαριν τρο  
 5 φην νικην ενημεριαν επαφροδισιαν προσωου ειδος  
 αλκην απαντων και πασων □ σοι εν ουρανω  
 λαμφθενουωθι: ουσασθενουωθι: οαμενωθ: ενθομουχ:  
 ταυτα εισιν τα εν ται δ γωνιας του ουρανου οίδα σου  
 και τας μορφας αι εισι εν τω απηλιωτη μορφην εχεις  
 10 ιβεως εν τω λιβι μορφην εχis κυνοκεφαλου εν τω βορεα  
 μορφην εχis οφεως εν δε τω νοτω μορφην εχεις λυκου:  
 η βοτανη σου η λολλα: ετεβενθωητ: οίδα σου και το ξυ  
 λον το εβεννινου οίδα σου Ερμη τις ι και ποθεν ει και τις η  
 πολις του Ερμου πολ[ι]ς ελθε μοι κυρι Ερμη πολυωνυμε ειδως  
 15 τα κρυφια τα υπο τον πολον και την γην ελθε κυρι Ερμη  
 τω ἅ ευεργετησον αγαθοποιε της οικουμενης επακουσον  
 [μ]ου και χαρισον μ[οι] ἢ παντα τα κατα την γην οικον  
 μενην ειδη ανυξας μοι τας χείρας παντων συνδωκο

Lines 2-52. An invocation addressed to Hermes, to procure a variety of favours. The line at the top of the column appears to be the end of some invocation preceding, but its meaning is very doubtful.

Line 6. □: the sign commonly used for *δνομα*; the plural is expressed either by repeating the sign, or, as in l. 21, by adding the syllable *τα*. A knowledge of the true names and attributes of the power invoked is regarded as an important part of an incantation. It is supposed to give the person possessed of such knowledge some authority over the being whose name he knows. The belief is prevalent in savage nations.

Line 10. The ibis and the cynocephalous baboon are the chief

attributes of the god Thoth, who was identified with the Greek Hermes and was especially worshipped at Hermopolis. Representations of both are frequent in the sculptures remaining there.

Line 14. πολις: the word is repeated unnecessarily. Hermopolis, if that is the city referred to, stood on the borders of Upper and Middle Egypt.

Line 17. ἢ: *i.e.* *πρός*.

Line 18. ανυξας: apparently for *ανοίξας*. It is not clear what is meant by *συνδωκοτων*, unless it be the people coming to make offerings to the god.

- των επαναγκασον αυτου'ς' δουναι μοι α εχουσιν εν ταις  
 20 χερσιν οίδα σου και τα βαρβαρικά ονοματα φαρναθαρ  
 βαραχλ: χθα: ταυτα σοι εστιν τα βαρβαρικά Ετα  
 εαν επικαλεσατο . . εσση μεγιστη των θων απαντων  
 εν παση κρισει εν πατι τοπω προς θεους και ανθρωπους  
 και δεμονας και ενδραζωα και επεικ.α και εσχεν 'την χα  
 25 ριν το νικος προς θεους και ανθρωπους και πασι τοις υπο του  
 κοσμον ζωοις ουτως καγω ο Α επικαλουμε σε διο δος  
 μοι τη χαριν μορφην καλλος επακουσον μου Ερμη  
 ευεργετα φαρμακον ευδιαλεκτος γενου και επακουσον  
 καθως ποιησα πα[ν]τα τω Εθιοπικω κυνοκεφαλω σου  
 30 τω κυριω των χιονων πραυνε παντας και δος μοι  
 ασκην μορφην κοιν' και δοδοσαν μοι χρυσον και αρ  
 γυρον και τροφην πασαν αδιλιπτον διασωσον μου  
 πανδοτε εις τον αιωνα απο φαρμακων και δολιων  
 και βασκοσυνην πασης και γλωττων πονηρων απο  
 35 πασης συνοχης απο παντος μισους θ[ε]ων δε και ανθρωπ  
 δοδοσαν μοι χαριν και νικην και πραξιν και ευποριαν σοι γαρ  
 εγω και εγω σοι το σου Ε εμον και το εμον σου εγω γαρ ειμι το  
 ειδωλον σου επαν τι μοι συββη τουτω τω ενιαυτω η τουτω τω  
 μην η ταυτη τη ηβ η ταυτη τη φ συββησετε τω μεγαλω  
 40 θω αχχεμεν: εστροφ: τω επεγραμμενω επι της πλω  
 ρης του ιερου πλοιου το δε αληθινον Ε σου εγραμμενον  
 τη ιερα στηλη εν τω αδυτω εν Ερμουπολει ου εστιν η

(Col. 2.)

- η γενεσις σου Εμα σου αληθινον: οσεργαριαχ:  
 νομαφι: τουτο εστιν σου το Ε το πεντεκαιδεκατον  
 45 γραμμα εχον τα αριθμον γραμματων προς τας  
 ημερας της ανατολης της Ε το δευτερο Ε εχον  
 αριθμον ζ των κυριευοντων του κοσμου  
 τη ψηφον εχοντα τεε προς τας ημερα του ενι

Line 21. At the end of the line is the word *εαν*, and at the beginning of the next *δε*, but both have been erased. The writer had intended to continue the next paragraph without break, but changed his mind and starts with a fresh line, leaving blank the rest of that on which he had written *δε*.

Line 24. *ενδραζωα*: for *ενυδρα ζωα*?

Line 28. *ευδιαλεκτος*: for *ευδιαλλακτος*?

Line 29. τω Εθιοπικω κυνοκεφαλω: cf. note on l. 10.

Line 32. *αδιλιπτον*: i.e. *αδιαλειπτον*.

Line 35. *συνοχη*: a word used in Biblical Greek for "distress."

Line 38. *συββη*: for *συμβη*.

Line 39. ηβ = *ημερα*. φ = *ωρα*. *συββησετε*: i.e. *συμβήσεται*.

Line 40. *εστροφ*: the *ο* is doubtful. *πλωρης*: so apparently, for *πρώρης*.


Line 41. The *ιερὸν πλοῖον* is referred to in Louvre Pap. 2391, ll. 98, 113.

Line 43. η repeated by mistake.

Line 44. το Ε κ.τ.λ.: the name just given has 16 letters, so there is probably some mistake in it, unless the number of letters has been increased by transliteration into Greek.

Line 46. *προς τας ημερας της ανατολης της σεληνης*: i.e. corresponding to the number of days (15) which it takes the moon to reach its full. το Ε εχον αριθμον ζ: i.e. the name *αβρασας*, which contains seven letters, and whose numerical value is 365 ( $\alpha = 1, \beta = 2, \rho = 100, \sigma = 200, \xi = 60$ ).



- αυτου αληθως αβρασαξ: οίδα σε Ερμη και σοι εμε  
 50 εγω ει σοι και σοι εγω και πραξιν μοι παντα και  
 συνρεπισ συν αγαθη τυχη και αγαθω δαιμονι  
 ηδη β= ταχυν β=  
 λβ· ξυλον αιλαϊνον ποιησον κυνοκελιον καθημε  
 νον εχοντα την του Ερμου περικεφαλαιαν πτερωτα  
 55 την και εκ του νωτου γλωσσοκομον και επιγραφε το □  
 του Ερμου εις χαρτην και επιθι εις το γλωσσοκομον  
 Π̄ Ζ̄ επευξαμενος ο ποιεις η ο θελεις και πωμασας  
 επιθυε λιβαν'ω'ον και τιθι οπου θελεις ην εργαστηριω  
 μεσον εστι δε το □ το Π̄ 'φο'μενον φθορον φθιον ηθωυθ:  
 60 προεστι Π̄ και τα μεγαλα □τα ταυτα ιαω: σαβαωθ:  
 αδωναιε: αβλαθ' ακραμμαχ· τξε̄ dos τω εργαστηριω  
 την πραξιν την χαριν την ευποριν επαφροδισιαν  
 αυτω τω Ᾱ και τω εργαστηριω ηδη ηδη ταχυν ταχυν  
 2  
 ονειρετητον του Βησας ουτω ζωγραφησον  
 65 εις την ευωνυμον σοι χειραν τον Βησαν ως υπο  
 διγννται σοι και περιβα'λε' την χειρα σου μελανι ρακκι  
 Ισιακω και κοιμω μηδενι δους αποκρισιν ελλιξας  
 το ὕπολοιπον του ρακους π'έρι τον τραχηλον σου εστι  
 δε το μελα[ν] εν ω γραφεις αιμα κορωνης αιμα περι  
 70 στερας λευκης λιβανον αδημητον και Ζ̄ και μελάν  
 γραφεικ[ο]ν και κινναβαρι και οπον συκαμινου και  
 υδωρ ομβριον και χυλω αρτεμιας μονοκλωνου και  
 κατ αναγκης εν τουτω γραφε εξηγησις αυτου προ  
 75 δυνοντα αεροφοιτατων ανεμων επωχουμενος  
 σαυραις  χρυσοκομα διεπων φλογος ακαματων  
 φως αιθεριοις τροπαις μεγας μεγας πολον αμφις ε  
 λαων γενων αυτος απατα οπερ παλιν εξαναλνυει

Line 49. σοι: should be *σν*.

Line 50. ει: for *εἰμί*. *πραξιν*: apparently for *πράξιν*.

Line 52. β=: each word is repeated twice, as below, l. 63.

Lines 53-63. A charm, addressed to Hermes.

Line 53. λβ: *ἰ.ε. λαβών*. *αιλαϊνον*: for *εἰλαϊνον*. *κυνοκελιον*: it is not clear whether this is simply a blunder for *κυνοκέφαλον*, or a new word; in the latter case it may stand for *κυνοσκέλιον*, meaning a figure with dog's legs and human head.

Line 54. *πτερωτατην*: for *πτερωτήν*, either a clerical error or an otherwise unknown form.

Line 57. Π̄ Ζ̄: *ἰ.ε.* (probably) *γράφας ζυμυρομέλανι*; the latter word occurs several times in the Paris Papyrus, and also in Pap. cxxi. 468, 521, 596.

Line 58. ην: apparently for *ἐν*. There has been no reference to an *εργαστήριον* before, but apparently this is a spell to secure success to some piece of work or to a workshop generally.

Line 61. αβλαθ' ακραμμαχ·: for *αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμυραι*: cf. Pap. xlvi. 63, note.

Lines 64-84. A charm for procuring dreams, including a hexameter hymn to the Sun.

Line 64. *ονειρετητον*: = *ονειραιτητών*, a spell for procuring visions or dreams; the word occurs in the Leyden Papyri V and W and repeatedly in Pap. cxxi. *Βησας*: or *Βησα*; before this name the word *βουβαστιον* has been written and erased (cf. Pap. cxxi. 222 *seq.*, where this and the following charm are given, with some variations, and without the hexameter hymn). The letters *δεται* have been written (in error for *διγννται*, which follows) at the end of this line, and erased.

Line 66. *υποδιγννται*: = *υποδεικνυνται*.

Line 70. Ζ̄: *ἰ.ε. ζύμνα*.

Line 72. *αρτεμιας*: for *ἀρτεμίας*, a common ingredient in magical preparations.

Line 73. *εξηγησις*: at first written *εξετησις* (*ἰ.ε. εξώτησις*).

Lines 74-81. A very corrupt version of a hexameter hymn to the Sun, which occurs also in three or four other papyri (Paris Pap. Bibl. Nat., ll. 436 *seq.*, 1957 *seq.*; *Wiener Studien*, viii. 2).

- 80 *ἐξου γὰρ πεφυγε στοιχία τεταγμένα σοῖσι νομοῖσι  
κοσμον ἀπαν τρέπουσι τετρατροπον εἰς ἐνιαυτον  
ἣν γῆς κευθμῶνα μολῆς νεκῶν ἐνὶ χώρῳ  
πεμψον μαντῖν ἐξ ἀδύτων τὸν ἀληθεῖα λίτομε σε  
λαμψουήρ: σουμαρτα: βαριβας: δαρδαλαμ: ιορβηξ̄ κυριε  
εκπεμψον τὸν ἱερόν δαίμονα ἀνουθ: ἀνουθ: σαλβανα  
χαμβρη: βρηιθ: ἡδὴ β ταχυ β ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταυτῇ ἐλθε.*

(Col. 3.)

- 85 *εἰαν <sup>πτον</sup>θελῆς καὶ αὐτοψᾶν αὐτὸν καλεσε . . . . [λ]β . . .  
ρακος καὶ βρέξας εἰς σησαμινῶν ἐλαῖον . . . . ἀκί . . . .  
βαρεως λιωσας καὶ ἐνλυχνιασας λυχνῳ [α]μῖλ[τωτῳ]  
καὶ ἐσ' τῷ σησαμινῳ ἐλεῶ τὸ λυχρον καὶ θεσαν . . . .  
σου λεγων τὸν λ̄ καὶ ἐλευσετε πρὸς σε ἐχέ ἐγ κιστὴ σου*  
90 *πινაკίδα ἵνα ὅσα λέγει γραψῆς ἵνα μὴ κυμῇ . . ἡς  
ληθαρκησης ἐπικαλοῦμε σε τὸν ἀκεφάλον θῦ . . . ἰς  
παρα τοὶ ποσιν ἐχόντα τῇν' ὁρασιν τὸν ἀστραπρόντα  
καὶ βρονταζόντα σὺ εἰ οὐ τὸ στομα δια πάντα πύ  
ρος γεμὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγκῆς τεταγμένος ἐπικά  
95 *λοῦμε σε τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγκῆς τεταγμένον θῦ  
ιαεῷ· σαβαωθ: ἀδωναι: ζαβαρβαθι' α' ω: σὺ εἰ ὁ ε  
πὶ τῆς ζυρνῆν σορῳ κατακειμένος ἐχὼν ὑπα  
γωνιον ρητινὴν καὶ ἀσφάλτον οὐ λεγουσιν: ἀνουθ:  
ἀνὸ' ὕθ: ἀναστα δαίμων οὐκ ἰ δεμὼν ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα  
100 *τῷ δυο ἱερακῶν τῶν πρὸς κεφαλῇ τοῦ Ὀσιρεως  
λαλουντων καὶ ἀγρυπνουντων σὺ εἰ ὁ χρησμοδὸς  
θξ̄ σαλβαναχαμβρη: ἀνουθ: ἀνουθ: σαβαω: θαδωναι:***

The following is approximately the correct form, derived from the several versions:—

*αεροφοιτητῶν ἀνεμῶν ἐποχουμένος αὐραῖς  
ἤλιε χρυσοκομα διέπων φλογος ἀκαμάτων πυρ  
αιθεριαῖσι τρίβοισι μέγαν πόλον ἀμφὶς ἐλίσσων  
γεννῶν αὐτὸς ἀπάντα ἀπερ (ταπερ, Meineke) πάλιν ἐξαναλύνεις  
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ στοιχεῖα τεταγμένα σοῖσι νομοῖσι  
κοσμον ἀπάντα τρέπουσι τετρατροπον εἰς ἐνιαυτον  
. . . . .  
ἣν γῆς κευθμῶνα μολῆς νεκῶν ἐνὶ χώρῳ  
πεμψον δαίμονα τούτου.*

Line 78. *πεφυγε*: probably for *πέφυκε*, but it spoils the metre, and is not found in the other versions.

Line 81. *λίτομε*: for *λίττομαι*.

Lines 85–110. A spell for procuring the visible appearance of the god invoked. Part of the earlier lines is torn or rubbed so as to be quite illegible. It appears from the parallel passage in Pap. cxxi. that the god invoked is the same as in the last spell, viz. *Βήσα*.

Line 85. *αὐτοψᾶν* is intended to be corrected to *αὐτοπτον*.

Line 89. *ἐγ κιστὴ σου*: the letters are uncertain; if the reading given is correct, *ἐγ* is for *ἐν*.

Line 90. *κυμῇ . . ἡς*: possibly *κυμηθῆς* for *κοιμήθῆς*, but the lacuna seems rather larger than would be necessary for this.

Line 91. *ληθαρκησης*: presumably = *ληθαργίσης*, for which it is either an error, or, more probably, a dialectic variety.

Line 92. *παρα τοὶ (i.e. τοῖς) ποσιν ἐχόντα τὴν ὁρασιν*: cf. Pap. xlvi. 146, ὁ ἀκεφάλος δαίμων ἐν τοῖς ποσιν ἐχὼν τὴν ὁρασιν; and Pap. cxxi. 234.

Line 96. *ιαεῷ*: the *ε* looks like a *σ*, but *ιαεῷ* is a common form of the name of the Supreme Deity.

Line 97. *ζυρνῆν*: for *ζυρνῖν*.

Line 98. *υπαγωνιον*: should be *υπαγκώνιον*, as in Pap. cxxi. 237.

Line 99. *ἀναστα*: a *δ* written at first in place of the *τ*.

Line 100. *τῷ δυο ἱερακῶν*: in Pap. cxxi. 239, *τῶν ἰβ ἱερακῶν*, *Ὀσιρεως*: in Pap. cxxi. 240, *Ουρανου*.

Line 101. *σὺ ἐν κ.τ.λ.*: from this point the charm in Pap. cxxi. diverges from this one.

Line 102. *σαβαω: θαδωναι*: the punctuation is of course a clerical error.

- ιη ιε ιη ιε κοι' κυμω δε επι θρνεινη ψιαιθου ε  
 χων προ κεφαλην' σου πλυνθον ω μην εστιν δε  
 105 ωγραφεις ανθρωπος γυμνος εστως εχων βασι  
 λιον επι της κεφαλης τοιουτο εν δε τη δεξια χιρι  
 ξιφος καμπη επι τον τραχηλον κειμενην και εν  
 τη ευωνυμω ραβδον εαν δε χρηματιση σοι ροδινω  
 110 μυρω απαλιψον σου την' χειραν' εστι δε το ζωδιον  
 της πραξεως.

Line 103. κυμω : for κοιμῶ. θρνεινη ψιαιθου : for θρύνης ψιάθου.  
 Line 104. Unless some words have been omitted, δεωγραφεις  
 must be one word, a dialectic variety of ζωγραφείς.

Line 109. το ζωδιον της πραξεως : i.e. the figure controlling the  
 affair in question. See the photograph in the volume of  
 facsimiles.

### PAPYRUS CXXIII.—4th or 5th cent.

A SMALL fragment of papyrus containing a single invocation of an imprecatory character. The invoker summons the Gnostic deity βαυχωωωχ to subdue all the race of men before him. It begins with an iambic line, which is repeated near the end. At the back of the papyrus is a sketch of two grotesque figures, the one being apparently a baboon, with hairy breast and long arms, while the other has a hawk's head supporting a crescent and is presumably a representation of Horus or Harpocrates, bearing the *ānkh*, or symbol of life, in his right hand.

The papyrus measures  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 11, and has two cracks across it which to some extent obscure the readings. The writing is uncial, with a tendency to become cursive, and is very irregular and has several blunders. It is probably of the 4th or 5th century.

- θυμου σε πανσω και σε πρανω χολης ελθε κυριε βαυχωωωχ συν τω πατρι σου ανιβαυχωωωχ  
 συν τη μητρι σου χεχφω συν τοις δυσι δορυφοροις χενγηβιωχθω : μυσαγωθ : εχεωωμυσαγωθ :  
 αχφιω : ιαιαωχ : σεβαυφρηω ρηξιχθων : υωηωαεαειουω : χυχβα χυχβανα χυχβαναξιχυ<sup>x</sup>  
 βαζαβα χυχμενεβα χυχβα δηδοφω βαυχωωωχ : καθυποταξον φιμωσον καταδουλωσον  
 5 παν γενος ανθρωπων αρρενων δε και θηλυκων παντοιων θυμων τους υπο την κτισιν  
 υπο του ποδας του ἄμαλιστα τασδε κοινα ω σθενο . . . φο . . . γαρ υπο τους ποδας μου  
 η που περι  
 βολεον μου την καρδιαν τους αβ . . . θι

Line 1. θυμου σε πανσω : an iambic line, repeated in l. 12. It agrees in sense with the general object of the spell, as expressed in line 4, etc. βαυχωωωχ : one of the *τριδυνάμεις θεοί* mentioned in *Pistis Sophia*, § 361, and occurring very frequently in the incantations of the magical papyri ; but there is no other mention of the parentage here described.

Line 3. χυχβα : according to King (*Gnostics*, p. 293), κυχβα is Chaldee for "star."

Line 6. τασδε : the word is doubtful.

Line 7. περιβολεον : so, apparently. This line (together, apparently, with the words following κοινα in the previous line) is written in later, in the interval between lines 6 and 8 ; and, as it is crossed by a crack in the papyrus and blotted at the end, the readings are somewhat doubtful, especially in the last half of the line.

ἐπι δε οπιθεν της λαμνης ευλαμωσισιρ . . . βσιηρσεσι φερμουχουωρ αβασαξ  
 κατυποταζον καταδουλωσον φιμωσον την ψυχην τον θυμον οτι εξοργιζω σε κατα της  
 10 φρικτης αναγκης μασκελλι μασκ'ελ'ω φμουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ρηξιχθων ιπποχθων  
 πυριπηγανυξ λεπεταν λεπεταν φνουνοβοη και εις το μετοπον το ονομα αυτου  
 προλογος τη πραξεως θυμους σε πασω και σε [π]ρανω χολης ελθε και διακρατει σιγη  
 σιγην φερων  
 τε πασιν και θυμον στησον ψυχων παντων οργας δη πασας σβεσον φρενας οργισας οτι  
 επικαλουμε το αυ  
 θεντικον σου ονομα βαινωωωχ: ειπε δε τουτο το ονομα επανω του πεταλου ιαω μορμο-  
 ροτοκουβαι.

Line 8. ἐπι δε: this might be one word, *επιδε*; but apparently it is a direction to inscribe certain words on the magic plate, some behind and some (l. 11) in front. Therefore we must understand του before οπιθεν. λαμνη: the Latin *lamina* or *lamina* transliterated.

Line 10. φρικτης αναγκης: the same phrase occurs in Pap. Bibl. Nat. l. 2246. μασκελλι . . . λεπεταν: the same formula

occurs in Pap. Bibl. Nat. ll. 2753-6, 3175-8, and is referred to as if it were a recognised formula in Louvre Pap. 2391, l. 90, and elsewhere; cf. Pap. cxxi. 302.

Line 12. διακρατει: the reading of the first part of the word is doubtful, owing to a crack in the papyrus.

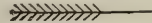
Line 14: μορμοροτοκουβαι: οτι, μορμοροτοκουβαι.

#### PAPYRUS CXXIV.—4th or 5th cent.

THIS papyrus contains a couple of columns of writing, but the left-hand portion of the first column is broken off and lost, together with any columns that may have preceded. The sense is consequently incomplete, and it is not possible to do more than make out that the first column contains a spell for enforcing love. In the second column are two spells for overcoming the malice of enemies and for giving security against alarms and nocturnal visions, and the like. The earlier one is accompanied by a sketch of a plate inscribed with magical characters.

The papyrus in its present condition measures  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 12. The writing is a very irregular cursive, probably of the 4th or 5th century.

(Col. 1.)

. . . . . και βρωσιμον [λ]αβων  
 . . . . . ωτα βαλλε ε[ις] παραψιδιον  
 . . . . . ουτως ο ἄ απε . . αλμενος  
 . . . . . της και επι τα π[α]ρα του Ω  
 5 . . . . . και θελησης . . νομα μοι ωϊ  
 . . . . . ιαω σαβαωθ [ζ]αβαρβαθιαω  
 . . . . . φιλιτω με η [ἄ] τον ἄ θιον  
 . . . . . ανεξαλιπτ . .   
 . . . [λο]γος λεγομενο[s] —

Line 3. απε . . αλμενος: qu. απεσταλμενος?

Line 4. Ω: the context is not sufficient to determine the meaning of this sign.

Line 6. These same three words occur in collocation in Pap. cxvii. 96.





|                                          |          |             |                          |
|------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------|
| πατειται οὕτως και ο ἰ κῶι ο επεχων ιωαν |          |             |                          |
| 35                                       | αβρασαςξ |             |                          |
|                                          | αειγιουω | χυνχ'       | μιχαηλ                   |
|                                          | ειγιουωα | χυνβαχυνχ'  | ραφαηλ                   |
|                                          | γιουωαε  | βαχαχυνχ'   | γαβριηλ                  |
|                                          | ιουωαει  | βακαξιχυνχ' | σουριηλ                  |
|                                          | ουωαειη  | βαζαβαχυνχ' | ζαζιηλ                   |
|                                          | νωαειηιο | βαδητοφωθ'  | βαδακιηλ                 |
|                                          | ωαειγιου | βαϊνχωωωχ'  | συλιηλ                   |
|                                          |          |             | νυσευ                    |
|                                          |          |             | νυχιευ                   |
|                                          |          |             | αωχυνς                   |
|                                          |          |             | μεχευ                    |
|                                          |          |             | ιαω                      |
|                                          |          |             | σαβαωθ'                  |
|                                          |          |             | αδωναι                   |
|                                          |          |             | υποστησον μοι            |
|                                          |          |             | τοδ' ἰ ηδη β= ταχυ ταχυ. |

X αβρασαςξ X  
 X Z X

PAPYRUS CXXV *verso*.—5th cent.

THIS is a decidedly interesting document, and different in many respects from the others of this class. It contains elaborate instructions for a magical process, the effect of which is to evoke a goddess, to transform her into the appearance of an old woman, and to bind her to the service of the person using the spell for so long a time as he may choose to retain her. It is headed "the old serving-woman of Apollonius of Tyana," showing that this spell must originally have been ascribed to him, though no mention of such a feat is given in his Life by Philostratus. It concludes with the words "the method has been tested by actual practice." Some parts of the papyrus are mutilated and some are obscure, but the general drift is clear enough, and in the seriousness in which it is written gives an amusing instance of the belief of the efficacy of art-magic to control the deities, which is such a common feature of superstition in all peoples at some stage or other of their development.

The papyrus measures 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 18, and is marred by several lacunæ. It is written in two columns, in a rough, irregular, semi-cursive hand, probably of the 5th century. On the other side are some accounts of expenses (not earlier than the 4th century), which will be given in another place. It is noticeable that the accounts are written on the *recto* side of the papyrus, while the description of the magical process is on the *verso*. The latter is consequently the later writing.

(Col. 1.)

γρανς Απολλων[ιου] Τυανεως υπηρετις λαβ[ων] ιβιος  
 κраниον καταγρ[ το]υς χαρακτηρας τουτους αιματι α[ρ]νος μελανος

Line 1. *ιβιος*: the reading is doubtful; one would have expected to find *ονου*, from l. 37; but the letters which remain visible are inconsistent with this.

- 2 ☒ © Δ' σαβερρα ελθων δε επι τον τοπον  
 παρα ποταμον [η] θαλασσαν η τριόδου νυκτος μεσης θες το κρα  
 5 νιον χαμαι και [προς τω σ]ω αριστερω ποδι λεγε[σθω δε ο] λογος  
 εριθνιαμεροπη . . . εργιρω χηθιρα αναπεροι . . . . . λυρωφια  
 γηγεθιρα λολυν γουγωγη αμβραχα β . . . . . εβιλη  
 μαριθαια μερουχε αβηλεθιραω απ . . . . . χοριηλα  
 10 μωρηθιρα φ . . . χιρα ωσριφοιρα αμερι . . . . . φη θυθηρα  
 γαργεργιω τιθ . . . μνμη μηραψηχιρ αωρια ελθη φανητι  
 η θεος η καλο[νμ]ενη οικουρος ταυτα ειπων οψη γυναικαν  
 επι ονον καθηζο[μ]ενη ευμορφον λιαν υπερβ[ολ]ην ουρανιον τι  
 καλλος εχουσα[ν] αδιγηγτως ωραιαν και [ν]εαν ην ειδων συ  
 ευθεως προ[οσφω]νησον λεγων ευχαριστω [σοι] κiria οτι μοι εφανθη  
 15 αξιονμε σου . . . ευμενη σου μοι γενεσ[θαι] . . . θροτης σου και ποιησον  
 περι ου σοι χρ[η]σομαι[ι] ερι θε σοι η θεος τινος δ[ι]αν[ο]ιαν εχεις συ λεγε π[α]ρα σου μ[οι]  
 χρια εστιν ει[ς] τας του βιου υπηρεσιας η δε ευθεω[ς] κα[τα]βησεται απο του ονου  
 κ[αι] απ[ο]  
 δυσεται το καλλος και εσται γραυς και ερι σοι η γρα[υς] εγω σοι υπηρετησω και  
 πα[ρα]θητ[ε]ν[ε]σω  
 20 τουτο δε σοι ειπ[ου]σα παλιν θεος ενδεδυ[σετ]ε το εαυτης καλλος ο[περ] εξεδυσατο  
 και παραιτησεται συ δε λεγε τη θεω κυρια . . . σαυτη χρησησομ[αι] ε[ως] κατασχω αυτην  
 η θε θεος ακουσ[ασα] ευθεως προσελευσετ[αι] τ[η] γραιδι και λημψεται αυ[της] τον γομφιον  
 και του ονου μνλη[ν] κα[ι] διδωσι σοι αμφοτ[ε]ρα και εξ εκινον αχωριστω[ς] . . . ηται η γραυς  
 ει μη ταχα συ αυτ[η]ν ο[ι] θελις απαιτησεις απο δε εκεινης της ωρας εξεις μ[υρι]ων αγαθων  
 δωρεαν παντα γ[α]ρ σ[οι] οσα τη ψυχη ενθυμη δι αυτης καταπραχθησ[εται] ταδε σοι  
 25 φυλαξει και ως μ[α]λιστα προ[η]σι σοι ο τι ποτ αν τις ενθυμηται κατα σου [και γ]α[ρ] παντα

(Col. 2.)

- ερι σοι και ουδεποτε σε καταλυμι ουτως  
 την εις σε ευνοιαν εντιθεται εαν δε θελησης  
 π[ο]τε απολυσης αυτην οπερ μηδεποτε ποιησης  
 λαβων τον γομφιον και την μνλην και πυρραν  
 30 ποιησης ακοντισον εις το πυρ και ολολυξας η γραυς  
 φευζεται οπως μη ευκολως αυτην απολυσης

Line 5. [προς τω σ]ω : it is not clear exactly how this lacuna should be filled ; προς τω alone is insufficient to account for the whole space.

Line 6. χηθιρα : or χασθιρα.

Line 9. φ . . . χιρα : the last letter may be ω . θυθηρα : or ουθηρα.

Line 11. γυναικαν : cf. χειραν, a not unfrequent form in these papyri.

Line 12. υπερβ[ολ]ην : the reading of this word is very doubtful.

Line 15. αξιονμε : for αξιονμαι.

Line 16. The readings in this line are very doubtful. θε for

δε is paralleled in l. 21.

Line 19. ενδεδυ[σετ]ε : so, apparently, for ενδυσεται or ενδεδυσεται.

Line 20. αυτην : so, apparently.

Line 22. . . . ηται : ? επηται ; the η seems certain, and therefore some subjunctive is required, though it seems irregular.

Line 23. απαιτησεις : the reading is very doubtful.

Line 25. προση : if correct, in the sense of "disposing of," "getting rid of."

Line 28. απολυσης : probably a slip for απολυσαι.

Line 30. ποιησης : should be ποιησας.

Line 31. οπως : or ολως.

- αμαμητως γαρ σοι εσται την δε θεον απολυσις  
 οταν μαθης . . τως σοι υπερετησεις η γραυς λεγων  
 ουτως μενερφερφειη πραχηρα λυλωρι  
 35 μηλιχαρη νηχιρα ταυτα ακουσασα η γραυς  
 θεος αναβησεται επι τον ονον και απελευσεται  
 φυλακτηριον παρα την πραξιν το κρανιον του ονου  
 την δε μυλην του ονου δησας αργυρω και τον γομφιον  
 της γραιδος χρυσω [π]εριεχε αει ουτως γαρ σο' αχωριστος  
 40 εσται η γραυς η πραξις δεδοκιμασται.

Line 32. αμαμητως : so, apparently. The sense required is doubtful.  
 probably "inseparable."

Line 34. λυλωρι : or λυτωρι.

Line 33. The reading and construction of this line are alike



## 4. HOROSCOPES.

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### PAPYRUS XCVIII *recto*.—1st or 2nd cent.

THIS papyrus is the one that contains the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, which occupies the whole of one side of the sheet. The other contains a Horoscope, of which the text is given here. It is clear on various grounds that this is the earlier document of the two. In the first place it is written on the *recto* of the papyrus; that side, namely, on which the papyrus-fibres are laid horizontally, whereas on the *verso*, which is not originally intended to receive any writing, they are laid vertically (*cf.* an article by Wilcken, entitled "Recto oder Verso," in *Hermes*, vol. xxii.). Further, the horoscope is written regularly and neatly, while the Hyperides is in a rough unpractised hand, with numerous errors, the lines often crooked, the letters varying in size, and everything presenting the appearance of a private copy or a school-exercise, not of a formal manuscript of a classical work. The difference is at once apparent on comparing it with the other papyrus MSS. of Hyperides which have been discovered. The papyrus therefore originally contained the horoscope alone, and its reverse was subsequently used for a rough copy of the speech which has thus fortunately been preserved to us. Unfortunately the sheet is not perfect. It is incomplete at both ends, and has several large lacunæ scattered about it, by which both oration and horoscope suffer. Of the horoscope the first column is almost entirely wanting, in which would have been contained the name of the "native," the date, and the statement of the positions of the first two of the great heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon. The statement of the remaining elements of the scheme of nativity can be made out nearly perfectly, in spite of the lacunæ; but the end, containing the deductions therefrom as to the fortunes of the subject, which might have been highly interesting, is unfortunately almost all lost or obliterated; the latter being possibly due to the failure of the prophecies.

One noticeable feature in the horoscope is the distinction that is apparently made between the *ᾠροσκόποι* and the *δεκανοί*. The latter, as the thirty-six deities (three to each sign of the zodiac) presiding over nativities, are well known in Egyptian astrology, and at least six lists (differing in several particulars) have been preserved of their names. Ordinarily, *ᾠροσκόπος* is identical with *δεκανός*, or we find both terms combined in phrases such as *δεκανοὶ ᾠροσκοποῦντες*. But here we find the thirty-six *ᾠροσκόποι* repeatedly spoken of, with the names belonging to the decans; while the *δεκανοί*, to the number of one or two, apparently, for each sign, are also mentioned, without its being clear in what capacity they stand. It is further noticeable, as is pointed out below, that we find both the older and the later names of the planets mentioned here together.

The text of the horoscope has been published by Wessely in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1888, part 2, pp. 150-152; and (omitting the mutilated passage containing the predictions) by C. W. Goodwin in *Mélanges Egyptologiques* (ed. by F. Chabas), série 2, p. 294 *seq.* Mr. Goodwin gives, in addition to his transcription of the text, an examination of the names of the horoscopes and decans mentioned in the papyrus, and a comparison of them with the names given in the other lists of the decans, especially that of Hephaestion.

The date of the horoscope is lost, but Mr. Goodwin calculates, from the positions assigned to the planets Saturn and Jupiter, that it must belong to the year 154 A.D. Another computation, by G. D. E. Weyer, is quoted by Blass in his *Hyperides* (ed. alt. p. xix), which concludes that the year of birth must have been either 95 A.D. or 155 A.D., the former for choice. The horoscope need not necessarily have been drawn up at the time of birth, but must almost certainly have been made within the lifetime of the native. The date of the MS. may therefore be safely fixed within the second century of our era; that of the *Hyperides* on the reverse being at some date subsequent to it, and probably not very soon after it; since, so long as the scheme of nativity was considered valuable, the papyrus would hardly be used for another purpose.

There is still another document to be mentioned which is inscribed on the same papyrus. To the conclusion of the horoscope is appended some writing in very cursive Greek characters, which are far from easy to decipher. Though the characters are Greek (with the addition of six borrowed from the demotic alphabet), the language, with the exception of a few words, is Egyptian; it is, in fact, as Mr. Goodwin says, "probably the earliest extant example of the application of the Greek alphabet to the Egyptian language, the first effort of the system from which Coptic was shortly afterwards developed." A transcription of the text, so far as it is legible, into ordinary Coptic characters, is given by Mr. Goodwin in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 18-24, with notes on the forms and meanings of the words.

(Detached fragment of col. 1.)

. . . [μοιρ]ων ἡ λεπτων ν̄β̄ οἱ[κωι]  
 . . . . . ς Αφροδειτης δεκ . . .

(Lower right-hand corner of col. 1.)

. . . . . ην κει  
 . . . . . μοι<sup>ρ</sup>  
 5 . . . . . πλατει  
 . . . . . θμοις  
 . . . . . ν ου ονο<sup>μ</sup>  
 . . . . . σ]κορπιωι  
 . . . . . ωματι σελη<sup>ν</sup>  
 10 . . . . . τι

Line 1. This column must originally have contained the positions of the sun and moon, which precede, in the horoscopes, those of the planets. ν̄β̄: Wessely β̄, but the ν is clear. μοιρων: = degrees. λεπτων: = minutes.

Line 3. The upper portion of the column appears to have been intentionally obliterated, perhaps in order to prevent an identification of the name of the "native."

(Col. 2.)

- Φαινων τον του Κρονου ευρισκομεν την κεινησιν  
 ποιουμενον εν παρθενωι μοιρης  $\bar{\alpha}$  οικου Ερμους  
 υψωματι Ερμους ταπνωματι Αφροδειτης οριοις  
 Ερμους ου το δωδεκατημοριον εν παρθενωι οικωι  
 15 Ερμους των δε  $\lambda\varsigma$  ωροσκοπων ου ονομα ετφε  
 των δεκανος  $\beta$  ου ονομ[α] . . . . η βικωτ
- 
- Φαεθων τον του Διος [ευρισκομεν] την κεινησιν ποι  
 ουμενον εν παρθενωι [μοιρων η λεπτ]ων  $\bar{\kappa}$  οικωι  
 Ερμους υψωματι Ερμου[ς] ταπνωματι Αφροδειτη οριοις  
 20 Αφροδειτης ου το δωδε[κατημοριον εν] τοξοτη μοιρων  $\bar{\gamma}$   
 οικωι ιδιωι οριοις Ερμου[ς] των δε  $\lambda\varsigma$  λαμ[πρων] ωροσκοπων  
 ου ονομα φοντφε τ[ων] δεκανος  $\beta$ ] αρωι αρωι
- 
- Αρης πυροῖς ευ[ρισκομεν την κεινησιν] ποιουμενον  
 εν διδυμοις μοι[ρων]  $\bar{\epsilon}$  λεπτων  $\bar{\iota}$ ] οικωι Ερμους . .  
 25 οριοις Ερμους . . . . . [πρ]οστιθωι τοις αριθμοις  
 των δε  $\lambda\varsigma$  λαμ[πρων] ωροσκοπ[ων] ου ονομα αρου >  
 [ου το δωδεκατημοριον] εν λεοντι μοιρων  $\bar{\kappa}$   
 οικωι Ηλιου οριοις . . . . . [των δε]κανος  $\bar{\alpha}$  ρεμέν $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\alpha}$
- 
- Φωσφορους τον [της] Αφροδειτης ευρισκομεν την κεινη  
 30 σιν ποιουμενον ε[ν ταυρ]ωι [μοιρων  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ ] οικωι ἰδιωι υψωματι  
 Σελληνη οριοις Δ[ιοῦ] ου το δωδεκατημ[οριον] ενληγει εν  
 υδρηχωι μοιρων  $\bar{\gamma}$  οικωι . . . . [οριοις Ερμ]ους των  $\lambda\varsigma$  λαμ"  
 ωροσκοπων ου ονομα χ[ωον των δεκαν]ος  $\bar{\alpha}$  ου ονομα αρου >
- 
- Στιλβων τον του Ερμου ευ[ρισκομεν την κ]εινησιν ποιουμενον

Line 11. Φαινων : it is noticeable that in this horoscope the planets are spoken of by their old names, though the "houses" of the heavens have the names of Hermes, Zeus, etc. In the horoscope in Pap. cx. the planets are called by these later names, by which, in their Latin shapes, we now know them. Here, too, we see the later names coming into use; for after the heading "Φαινων," the writer proceeds τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου [sc. ἀστέρα] εὐρίσκομεν, Cronos or Saturn being the name of the planet formerly called Φαίανον.

Line 14. το δωδεκατημοριον : Saumaise (*de annis climactericis*, p. 542) quotes the following method for fixing the δωδεκατημόριον of a planet. Multiply the number of degrees which it has passed in the sign in which it is by 12; then measure the distance to which the product will reach, there being 30 degrees in each sign; and the point thus arrived at is the δωδεκατημόριον of the planet in question. *E.g.* suppose the Sun is in  $5^{\circ}5'$  of Aries; multiply by 12, and we have  $61^{\circ}$ ;  $24^{\circ}55'$  of these are taken by Aries, 30 by Taurus, and  $6^{\circ}5'$  are left for Gemini; therefore the δωδεκατημόριον of the Sun is in  $6^{\circ}5'$  of Gemini. By calculations based on this rule we are able to fill some of the lacunæ relating to the positions of the planets.

Line 15. ετφε : the third letter is one otherwise unknown, unless it is a badly formed  $\theta$ ; which is possible, as the value assigned to it by Goodwin, judging from other lists of the Decans, is that of  $\tau$  or  $\theta$ .

Line 18.  $\bar{\eta}$  : the supplement is not certain, as the calculation does not work out exactly.

Line 22. φοντφε : the fifth letter is the same doubtful one as in l. 15.

Line 23. πυροῖς : πυρῶεις is the old name of the planet Mars.

Line 24. οικωι Ερμους : all except the bottom portion of these letters is entirely obliterated, so the reading is doubtful.

Line 28. ρεμενααρεα : it is not certain whether the last character is an  $\alpha$  or merely a mark to fill a space at the end of the line, as in ll. 26, 33. Goodwin and Wessely take it as the latter.

Line 30. ε[ν ταυρ]ωι : the lacuna has only space for a short word, and that it is ταυρωι rather than κριωι is shown by the name of the decan αρου, which is clearly the same as ερω in Hephaestion's list.

Line 32. υδρηχωι : not καρκινωι, as W., though it looks as if the scribe had begun to write a  $\kappa$  as the first letter of the line. The other letters are certain.



- 35 τον του Ερμου εν κριω περι [μοιρων κ̄ οι]κωι Αρεως νψωματι  
 Ηλιον ταπινωματι Κρονου ορ[ιους] . . . . των λς λαμπρων  
 ωροσκοπων ου ονομα χεντα . . . [ου] το δωδεκατημοριον εν  
 ληγει εν τοξοτη μοιρων κ̄ οικ[ωι] . . . . ς οριοις Αφροδειτης των  
 δεκανος β̄ κατ̄̄ κ̄ουατ̄̄

(Col. 3.)

- 40 τον δε ωρονομον ωροσκοπον προσδει δι ολην  
 την [αν]αλογιαν εκ του αναφορικου προς κλειν  
 δραν εκπειπτει εν καρκινωι περι μοιρων κ̄ οικωι  
 Σεληνης οριοις Διος ου το δωδεκατημοριον εν  
 ταν[ρ]ω[ι] μοιρων κ̄ οικωι Αφροδειτης νψωματι  
 45 Σελην[η]ς των [λ]ς λαμπρων ωροσκοπων ου ονο<sup>α</sup>  
 ρεμεναχ . . . . των δεκανος β̄ κνουμε δ' ρακνον<sup>α</sup>

- μεσουρ[ανημα εν] κριω μοιρων ῑ λεπτων λ̄  
 οικωι Αρ[εως οριοις Αφ]ροδειτης ου ονομα σρωι  
 υπο γην [εν ζυγωι οικ]ωι Αφροδειτη νψωματι Κρονος  
 50 ταπινωμ[ατι . . . . οριο]ις Ερμους ου ονο<sup>α</sup> στωμα

δυσικον [εν αιγοκερωι] μοιρων κ̄ οικωι Κρονου οριοις  
 ιδιοις [. . . . ου ονομ]α σισρωι

- ο π[ρωτος κληρος της γ]ενεσεως ο εστιν αγαθος δαιμ[ων]  
 . . [μοιρων . . λεπ]των λδ οικωι Αφροδειτης νψ[ωματι]  
 55 νψω[ματι . . . . οριοις] Ερμου και Αρεως

ο κλ[ηρος δευτερος] εν κριω μοιρων κγ̄ λεπτω[ν] . .  
 οικωι . . . . . Αρε[ως]  
 ο τριτο[ς κλ]ηρος περ[ι] . . . ατων εν υδρηχωι μοιρων . . . . .  
 οικωι [Κρον]ου ταπινω[μα]τι Ερμου οριοις Διος και Αρε[ω]ς

Line 37. χεντα . . . : either Hephaestion's χονταρετ or χονταχρε.

Line 39. κουατ̄̄ : not κουατ̄̄ as W. reads.

Line 40. ωρονομον : a term applied to the planet which is in the ascendant, as ruling the hour.

Line 41. αναφορικου : sc. χρονου, the time taken by a planet in ascending.

Line 43. το δωδεκατημοριον κ.τ.λ. : this is the only case in which the statement of the positions both of the planet and of its δωδεκατημόριον remains perfect, and it confirms the rule given in the note on l. 14 above. 25 multiplied by 12 gives 300; and 300° added to Cancer 25° gives Taurus 25°.

Line 46. The letter after κνουμε is explained by Goodwin as the hieratic and demotic character which is preserved in Coptic as **Ⲛ** or **ⲛ**.

Line 48. Αρε[ως] : not Διο[ς], as W. reads.

Line 49. υπο γην : the nadir, opposite to μεσουρανημα. W. has transposed this line and the next, reads υπο των instead of υπο γην, and otherwise confuses the readings of these two lines and the preceding one.

Line 51. W. prints the first word of the line as δυ . . κον, though the letters are quite clear. δυσικον is used to denote the point in the heavens which is setting, thus being opposite to the ωροσκόπος, which is the point (= hence the power to which that point belongs) which is rising at the moment for which the nativity is cast.

Line 56. ο : possibly β, in which case read β κληρος της γενεσεως.

Line 58. The last letters of the line appear to be λερμ, not λεπτων, as Goodwin reads, unless it is somehow contracted.

Line 59. There is no such lacuna at the beginning of the line as W. indicates.



- 60 ο φυ[σικος ο]ικ[οδεσποτης] της γενεσεως Αφροδειτης και Ερμους  
 εν τω[ι κεν]τρωι Αφ[ροδειτ]ης αναφερηται εν τωι κεντρωι  
 μέ[σουρανηματος] . . . . .  
 . . . . . κα των ἑ αστερων περι ζοης

Seven lines are obliterated at the bottom of this column, and fifteen at the top of the next, together with the first words of several of the lines which remain. Only a few letters are visible here and there. When it again becomes legible, the deductions from the horoscope as to the fortunes of its subject are apparently being told.

- . . . . . ρ . νων εαν δε δουλός η ν . . . . .  
 65 . . . . . εαν δε πλουσιος π . . . . . ρος γενησεται και σω  
 . . . . . ων κυριενσι επι ει . . . . . σα και η γενεσιν σημαι  
 [νει] . . . . . ον δε οιοι ουνται ᾗ γενωνται᾽ καλως κ[αι τ]εκνων ποιουνται υπο τινος  
 κασ . . . . . κα . . . . . τα φυσικς γονεις ως γου[ε]ις και συστασεσιν υπερεχων  
 γειν . . . . . ει . . . . . ουσιν οπου κοσμος μου κρυμεος η χρωματων  
 70 η . . . . . αυτα δε αποτελεί Αρης γενηται επαναφερη  
 . . . . . της και Κρονος τριγωνιζει ψυχρος περι των γυναικων  
 . . . . . υπο την αρχην ψογος δ οιμους κινουμει[ος . . . . .]ου ονειρος  
 . . . . . s κακοπαθησεται και ξενιτενει κα . . . . . ο γαρ πρωτος  
 . . . . . απολυσις δευτερα ομοιως απολυσις . . . . . οιας απολυσις  
 75 . . . . .  
 . . . . . χρηματιζει

Line 60. The first word following the article is doubtful; but *οικοδεσποτης της γενεσεως* is a common phrase in nativities.

Line 61. *κεντρωι*: "cusp," Lat. *cardo*. The four cusps, which are the four most important points in the heavens, are the zenith (*μεσουράνημα*), nadir (*ὑπόγειον*), the point which is rising (*ῥόσκοπος*), and the point which is setting (*δύσις*).

Line 64. W.'s conjectural supplement of the line is not justified by the visible remains.

Line 65. π . . . . . ρος: very likely *πλουσιωτερος*, as W. suggests.

Line 66. *κυριενσι*: W. reads *πυρι* and omits the last four letters.

Line 67. *οιοι ουνται*: W. omits these words, the reading of which is doubtful. *γενωνται* has been written in above the line as a correction, the scribe having written the termination -ται after the ν of *ονν*.

Line 68. W. reads *φυσας*, and *συγγονοις* for *ως γονεις*, but almost certainly wrongly.

Line 69. The readings in this and the following lines differ in several points from those of Wessely.

Line 71. W. supplies the lacuna at the beginning of the line with [ο αστηρ της Αφροδει]της: but there is only room for four or five letters.

Line 72. *δ οιμους*: W. *μωμους*.

Line 74. The last *απολυσις* may perhaps be *απολυσει*.

Lines 75 and 76. These two lines are obliterated. In the last Wessely reads *ετη ̅ μηνας ̅ ημερας δεκα*. Of this ̅ is legible, and the letter before it is either a ν or η; the next word appears to end in *ης*, and the numeral, if it is one, is uncertain: the next letters are wholly obliterated, and then follows *ρας κε* (not *δε*). The rest is partly illegible, partly lost in a lacuna, except the final word *χρηματιζει*, which is written in darker ink.

## PAPYRUS CX.—A.D. 138.

THE following horoscope dates from the first year of Antoninus, *i.e.* A.D. 138. Another copy of it exists in Paris, and is printed by M. Brunet de Presle as No. 19 in his edition of the Paris Papyri. By the help of this the gaps in the present papyrus can be

filled, including the date and the name of the person whose nativity is drawn up. It is an entirely Egyptian name, Anubion the son of Psansnois.

The papyrus consists of four small sheets, each measuring, when perfect, 5 inches in height, and from 5 to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in width. The writing is uncial, small, neat, and clear; that of the Paris copy is, according to the published facsimile, much more rough and irregular; it is evidently a rough copy, while this is the finished document. Part of the first sheet is lost altogether, together with the introductory remarks which precede the horoscope in the Paris copy, and there are lacunæ in all the others. The text has been published by Wessely in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie* for 1888; but, though mentioning the existence of the Paris copy, Dr. Wessely does not appear to have used it to correct some errors of reading which occur in his own version.

(Col. 1.)

[γενεσις Ανουβι]ωνος ē Ψανσνωιτος  
 [Lā Αντωνι]ου Καισαρος του κυριου  
 [μηνος αδριαν]ου ἡ κατα δε τους αρχαι  
 [ους τυβι ιῆ ωρ]ας ā της ημερας αρχας  
 5 [Ηλιος εν τοξοτη]ι μοιρων ιγ̄ λεπτων  
 [κγ̄ οικωι Διος] οριοις Αφροδειτης  
 [Σελγη εν υδροχ]ωι μοιρων γ̄ λεπτων  
 [5 ανατολικος] οικωι Κ[ρο]νου οριοις [Ε]ρμου  
 [Κρονος εν υδροχ]ωι μοιρ[ων] γ̄ ( λε[πτων]  
 10 [ἡ εν τωι β̄ στηριγμωι ιδ]ωι ο[κ]ωι οριοις]

(Col. 2.)

Ερμου  
 Ζευς εν κρ[ωι] μοιρων ιβ̄ λε[πτ]ων  
 μδ̄ εν τωι β̄ [στη]ριγμωι οικωι Αρεως  
 ὕψωματι Ηλ[ιου] ταπινωματι Κρονου  
 15 οριοις Αφρο[δει]της  
 Αρης εσχ[ατ]α αιγοκερωι μοιρων λ̄  
 λεπτων ου[δε]ν̄ εν τω β̄ στηριγμωι  
 οικωι Κρονου [ι]διωι ὕψωματι ταπι  
 νωιματι Δ[ιος] ορι[οις] ἴδιοις  
 20 Αφροδε[ιτη] εν τοξ[οτη] μοιρων θ̄ λεπτων  
 δ̄ εωια [ανατολας] οικωι Διος [ορ]ιοις

Line 1. The name of the child whose horoscope is here given, and the date, are lost, but can be supplied from the Paris copy; where, however, the father's name, according to M. Brunet de Presle, is ψανωνωτος. But the σ is plain here, and is probably also right in the Paris copy, judging from the published facsimile. The numeral also is printed as ā, but is really z, as here.

Line 3. The Roman name of the month is given first, and then the Egyptian, but both are lost, and are supplied from the Paris copy.

Line 4. αρχας: Wessely αρχης, but the trace of the character which remains appears to be an α.

Line 5. ιγ̄: W. ιῆ.

Line 9. The symbol which follows γ is doubtful, both here and in the Paris copy; in the printed text of the latter it is omitted, but it is present in the facsimile. It is apparently the symbol which indicates a half, though one would have expected this to be expressed as 30 minutes.

Line 12. ιβ̄: the printed version of the Paris copy gives β̄, but the facsimile shows a lacuna before it.

Line 16. λ̄: W. ā, but the λ is quite distinct, and is also read in the Paris papyrus.

Line 21. δ̄: Paris pap. ὀδ̄.

(Col. 3.)

ἰδίοις

Ερμης εν τοξοτη μοιρων ιε λεπ[των] β̄  
 εν εσπερια οικωι Διος οριοις Αφροδει

25

της

ωροσκοπος εν τοξοτη μοιρων ιε οικωι  
 Διος οριοις Αφροδειτης

γαμοστολος εν διδυμοις μοιρων ιε οικωι  
 Ερμου οριοις Ερμου

30

μεσουρανγημα εν παρθενωι μοιρων η̄  
 οικωι Ερμου ὑψωματι Ερμου ταπνωι  
 ματι Αφροδειτης οριοις Αφροδ[ε]ιτης

(Col. 4.)

ὑπο γην εν ἰχθυσι μοιρων η̄ οικωι Διος ὑψωματι

Αφροδειτης ταπνωματι Ερμου ορ[ιοις] Αφ[ρ]οδει[της]

35

ο ᾱ κληρος της τυχης εν αιγοκερωι μ[οι]ρων ιθ̄ ο[ικωι]  
 Κρονου ὑψωματι Αρεως ταπνω[ωμ]ατι Διος ο[ρ]ιο[ις]  
 Αφροδειτης

ο β̄ κληρος της τυχης εν καρκνωι μοιρων [ιᾱ οικωι]  
 Σεληνης ὑψωματι Διος ταπνωματι Α[ρεως] οριοις]

40

Αφροδειτης

ο οικοδεσποτης της γενε[σ]εω[ς] αυτου ο [της Αφρο<sup>δ</sup>]  
 αστηρ

αγαθη τυχηι

ευτυχει

Line 22. ἰδίοις : Paris pap. Διος, apparently.

Line 24. εσπερια : Paris pap. εσπεραι, but according to the facsimile the termination is doubtful.

Line 26. ωροσκοπος : cf. note on Pap. xcvi. l. 51.

Line 28. γαμοστολος : probably the point called in some astrological treatises γαμικός τόπος, as having a decisive influence on the marriage of the native, but equivalent in position to the δυσικόν of Pap. xcvi. l. 51, opposite to the ὠροσκόπος.

Line 32. οριοις : omitted accidentally by W.

Line 33. η̄ : the number is lost in the Paris copy.

Line 35. ο ᾱ : W. prints this as one word, οα, spoiling the sense: and so with ο β̄ in l. 38 below.

Line 39. Αρεως : the Α is doubtful, but the portion of the letter which remains looks like it; and Αρεως is found in the Paris papyrus.

Line 41. αυτου ο : W. και του σ.

## PAPYRUS CXXX.—1st or 2nd cent.

THIS horoscope, which is now published for the first time, has one somewhat peculiar feature, an introductory letter from some master of the art of astrology to his pupil, named Hermon, urging him to be very exact and careful in his application of the laws which the ancient Egyptians, with their laborious devotion to the art, had discovered and handed down to posterity. The first part of the letter is apparently lost, together with

the name of the writer. The horoscope which follows is complete. It is dated *ἔτους τρίτου θεοῦ Τίτου φαρμουθὶ τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ ἔκτῃ*, *i.e.* April 1st, A.D. 81; but the use of the title *θεός* (=divus) shows that the document itself was not drawn up until after the emperor's death. It is consequently later than September, A.D. 81, but the exact date cannot be fixed. The name of the "native" is apparently that which is given in the short inscription which is placed at the end of the document, *Τίτος Πιτηνιος εἰη φίλα ὡς προκεῖται*.

The papyrus measures 2 feet 1½ inches in length, and 10 inches in height. It contains seven narrow columns, and the writing is bold and clear and somewhat ornamental. The columns lean slightly to the right, but not so markedly as in the case of the earliest MSS., *e.g.* those of Hyperides. Paragraphs are marked by beginning with slightly enlarged letters, which project into the margin on the left of the column. Lesser pauses are indicated by a short blank space in the middle of the line, followed generally by a slightly enlarged letter, and the first letter of the following line projects into the left-hand margin.

(Col. 1.)

[Τ]ων Αἰγυπτίων οἱ το  
παλαῖον ἀ[νδρ]ες γε  
νομενοὶ [γ]νησιῶς  
τε περ[ι] τα οὐρανι  
5 α φιλοπονησαν  
τες καὶ ἐπιγνον  
τες τὴν τῶν ἐπτα  
θεῶν κευησιν  
τα ὅλα [συ]νεχον  
10 σαν τε καὶ διοικου  
σαν ἀφθονῶς ἡ  
μειν δια κανο  
νων αἰωνίων  
ἀπελείπον τὴν  
15 περὶ αὐτῶν γνω  
σιν ὅθεν ἐκα  
στον ψηφίσας α  
κριβῶς τεταχα  
σοι πρὸς τε μοι  
20 ραν καὶ λεπτον  
σχῆμα τε καὶ φα  
σιν καὶ τα πρὸς

(Col. 2.)

ἐπισκεψιν ἀπλῶς  
τεινοντα ἵνα μὴ  
25 ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐ  
καστον ἐνχρόνιζω·



Οὕτως γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἀστρο  
 λογία προρητικός  
 τρόπος ἀναμφι  
 30 βολος τουντεστῶ  
 ὁμολογος κατορ  
 θονται ἐρρωσο  
 μοι φιλτατε Ἐρ  
 μων

35 χρόνος  
 [της] τροπῆς  
 Ἐτους τρίτου θεοῦ  
 Τίτου φάρμου  
 θι τῇ ἐπιφώσκου  
 40 σῇ ἐκτῇ ἐπι  
 τρίτης τῆς νῦ  
 κτος ὥρας : ὥς  
 δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀγοῦσι  
 καλανδαῖς Ἀπρι  
 45 λείας : κατ ἀρχαι  
 οὺς δὲ παχῶν νεο

(Col. 3.)

μηνία εἰς τὴν δὲν  
 τεραν : Ὄθεν ο  
 μὲν μεγιστοτάτος  
 50 ἡλῖος καὶ τῶν ὀλῶν  
 δυναστῆς· ἀπο εἰ  
 ρῶν ἰσημερίας φε  
 ρομένος κρίου μοι  
 ρας ἐπειχεν δεκά  
 55 τεσσαράς· καὶ προσ  
 ἐτι λεπτά ἐξ· τοῦ  
 τεστῶν μέρος δεκά  
 τον μοιρῆς : ζῶδι  
 ωι Ἀρεῶς : ὁριοῖς Ἐρ  
 60 μων : στοιχειῶι Δι

Line 33. *Ἐρμων*: MS. perhaps *Ἐρμων*, but, if so, it can hardly be otherwise than an error, due perhaps to the frequent occurrence of the word *Ἐρμων* elsewhere in the document.

Line 34. The end of the introductory letter is marked by a *coronis* in the margin.

Line 37. On the date, see the Introductory Note.

Line 45. *κατ ἀρχαίους δὲ*: the Egyptian calendar is a confusing one, owing to the joint existence of the old method of calculation, which gave the year only 360 days, and the later methods of intercalation; and it seems safest to leave the explanation of the dates here given to those experienced in Egyptian chronology.

- ος : αρρενικωι και  
 προς βορρωι ζωδι  
 ω[ι] νησυνμενος : ε  
 π[ι] της λαγονος του  
 65 κριον σελαγιζων :  
 δ[ε]κανωι δευτε  
 ρωι καλουμενωι  
 σενταχορ : ου το δω  
 δεκατημοριον  
 70 διηνηγαξεν σκορ  
 πιου περι τον πρω

(Col. 4.)

- τον σφονδυλον :  


---

 Η δε θεα και σελασφο  
 ρος σεληνη απ α  
 75 νατολης φερομε  
 νη οξυγωνιος ταυ  
 ρου μοιρας ετρε  
 χε δεκατρεις· και  
 ετι μερος χιλιοστ'  
 80 μοιρης : ζωδιωι  
 Αφροδιτης : νηψω  
 ματι ιδιωι : ορι  
 οis Ερμου : θηλυ  
 κωι και στερεωι  
 85 ζωδιωι : χρυσωι  
 ομοια : επι της  
 ραχεως αναβιβα  
 ζουσα του ταυρου :  
 δεκανωι δευτε  
 90 ρωι καλουμενω  
 αρωθ : ης το δωδε  
 κατημοριον σκορ  
 πιου παλιν περι  
 τον αυτον τοπον  
 95 εξελαμπεν :  


---

 Φαινων δ ο του Κρο  
 νου αστηρ ιχθυ

Line 68. *σενταχορ* : in the list of decans given by Hephaestion (cf. Goodwin, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, sér. 2, p. 297) the second decan in Aries is named *χονταχρε*.

Line 91. *αρωθ* : the second decan in Taurus in Hephaestion's list is *ερω*, given in Pap. xcvi. l. 33 as *αρον*.

## (Col. 5.)

- [ω]ν μοιρας επληρου  
 εξ· λειπουσας μερος  
 100 εξηκοστον μοιρης·  
 ζωδιω Διος· οριοις  
 και νψωμάτι Αφροδι  
 της· εως ανατολι  
 κος· επι του χελει  
 105 δονιαιου ιχθυος κα  
 ταβιβαζων· επι  
 τριτος ογκωι·

- 
- Φαεθων δ ο του Διος  
 αστηρ νψος ανατρε  
 110 χων επειχε καρκι  
 νου μοιρας εξ· και  
 επι λεπτα τριτα δε  
 . . α δη μερος μοι  
 ρης εστιν διςμυρο  
 115 χιλεξακοσιοστον·  
 ζωδιω σεληνης· ο  
 ριοις και ταπει  
 νωματι Αρεως·  
 το δευτερον στη  
 120 ριζων· του εν τωι  
 νωιτω λαμπρου  
 αστερος βορειοτε  
 ρος δακτυλοις δυσι·  
 ημιολιος τε ογ  
 125 κωι και προστασων·
- 

## (Col. 6.)

- Πυροε[ι]ς δ ο του Αρε  
 ως αστηρ υδροχοου  
 μοιρας ανεβιβα  
 ζεν δεκα εξ· εικο  
 130 στον· ζω[δ]ιον Κρο  
 νου· τριγωνον Ερ  
 μου· οριον Διος· α  
 στερα τον εν τη χλα  
 μυδι καλουμένον  
 135 Γαννηδην ομω

νυμῶς τῶι ὀλῶι εἰ  
δῶλῶι: ἕως ἀγαν:

- 
- Φωσφόρος δ ὁ τῆς Α  
φροδιτῆς ἀστῆρ  
140 ἰχθυῶν μοίρας ε  
πληροῦ δεκά ἐξ·  
καὶ λεπτά τεσσαρά·  
α δὴ πεντεκαίδε  
κατὸν μοίρης με  
145 ρος ἐστίν: ζῶδι  
οἱ Διός: ψῶματι ι  
διῶι: ἕω ἀνατο  
λικῇ: ἐπὶ τοῦ νο  
τειοῦ ἰχθύος: ο  
150 μοία κρυσταλλῶι:  
ορίοις Ἑρμού: τοῦ  
ἐν τοῖς ἀποτετα  
μένοις λίνοις  
λαμπροῦ ἀστερος

(Col. 7.)

- 155 ἀπεχούσα σελήνια[κ]  
α μεγέθη δυο:

- 
- Στίλβων δ ὁ τοῦ Ἑρ  
μου ἀστῆρ κριου ε  
πετρεχε μοίρας στε  
160 ρεας δεκά: περιγί  
ος: πρὸ ἑπτά φασιν  
πεποιημένος: δι  
ο οἰκοδεσποτῆσει  
το διαθεμα:  

---
- 165 Ο δ οἰαξ τῶν ὀλῶν ὥρο  
σκοπος σκορπιου  
ἀπετεμνε μοίρας  
δεκά οκτῶι: ορίον  
Ἑρμού: ζῶδιον Ἀρε  
170 ῶς: τριγῶνον σε  
ληνῆς: δεκανόν  
θουμῶθ:

Line 172. *θουμῶθ*: the name is wholly unlike any of those in the list of Hephaestion, who gives the three decans in Scorpio as *στωχυνε, σεσμε, σιεμε*.



ο δε προς ορθας τωιδε  
 μεσηβρινος λεον  
 175 τος την ραχιν εκρου  
 εν :

Ο κληρος δε της τυχης  
 εις Διος και ζωδιον  
 και τριγωνον ανα  
 180 παλιν εσται : ον τινες

ζυγαι δωρησονται α  
 γνοια : ομως Αφρο  
 διτης παλιν ο κλη  
 ρος : διεντυχει :

At the side of the last column stands the inscription :

Τιτος  
 Πιτη  
 νιος  
 ειη φι  
 [λα] ως  
 προκει  
 ται

(δ.) A detached fragment of papyrus, evidently belonging to the same document, though it is uncertain whether it comes from the beginning or the end of it, contains the following writing :

α' Ερμ'  
 β' Η[λιος]

α' Κρ[ονος]  
 β' Αφρο<sup>ς</sup>

5 ινα και της  
 ταξεως  
 μη διασφα  
 [λ]ης των δι

ειρηφισθη  
 10 εν Ερμου  
 πολει · ε . . .  
 λογον ε . . .

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
|       | ο οριζω[ν]   |
|       | τον επτ[α]   |
| 15    | προς πειν    |
|       | τε           |
| <hr/> |              |
|       | ο σποριμ[ος] |
|       | χρονος       |
|       | ημερω[ν]     |
| 20    | σ'ός'        |

Finally, by the side of these lines, in the following column, stand in large letters the words

|       |
|-------|
| αγαθη |
| τυχη  |

---

## 5. ACCOUNTS.—(a) PUBLIC.

### PAPYRUS CXIX.—2nd cent.

THE three documents which follow, though coming under the general head of "Accounts," form a distinct group by themselves. They are official records of assessments for purposes of taxation under the Roman empire, and the two largest appear, from the handwriting, to date from the second century of our era. Papyrus CXIX is placed first in order because it is the most complete, and the questions which arise concerning it in common with one or both of the others are best discussed in connection with the most perfect of them. It is, moreover, probably the earliest in date. Some of these questions cannot be decided definitely at present, though they may perhaps be elucidated by comparison with other documents of the same character which probably exist already in some of the libraries and museums in Europe, or may hereafter be discovered in Egypt. Considerable light is also thrown upon them from the ostraka, the contents of which have at different times been published by Dr. Birch,\* Prof. Sayce,† and Prof. Wilcken.‡

The present document is a record of assessments of individuals for some purpose of taxation, arranged according to streets or districts. It is far from being complete, as we only have the remains of some ten columns; but there is evidence that the entire papyrus contained forty columns or more. There is, however, quite sufficient to show the character of the document. The arrangement of each entry is in general outline the same throughout. It falls into four divisions: (a) the name of the individual; (b) the statement of the nature and extent of the property in virtue of which he is taxed; (c) the statement of the sums paid by him or still due from him; (d) the total of the sums thus paid or due. As to the proper names, there is not much difficulty and little of special importance. The names are mostly Egyptian, but there are several Roman ones, such as Iulia Apollonia, Quintus, Marcus, Lucius Marius, and a few Greek (Cephalus, Apollonides, Hermias). The statement of the property in virtue of which the tax is paid is the most difficult part of the document. It begins with what is apparently a description of the character of the property, which is represented by the abbreviations  $\phi\bar{\omega}\iota$ ,  $\alpha\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\chi$ ,  $\alpha\kappa\rho\delta$ , of which the first is the commonest. The last two may evidently be explained as standing for  $\lambda\alpha\chi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\delta\rho\nu\alpha$ , kitchen-garden and fruit-trees, and on this analogy  $\phi\bar{\omega}\iota$  no doubt represents  $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$  or some such word, meaning a garden of date-palms; § and  $\alpha\kappa\alpha$  may stand for  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\alpha$ , the Egyptian acacia from which gum arabic is obtained, and whose branches were in early times used for boat-building (Herod. ii. 96).|| The reading of the word is, however, open to much doubt,

\* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v. 84, 124, 158.

† *Ib.*, vii. 11, 195.

‡ *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lxxvi. 231-266.

§ This is confirmed by a recently acquired fragment, which

has the abbreviation  $\phi\bar{\omega}\iota$  and also the extended words  $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$  and  $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ .

|| Another fragmentary document recently acquired mentions  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  δύο ζωφντούσας (?) ὑπερμεγέθεις, in a certain ἀμπελικόν χωρίον καλούμενον ἐλαιώνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Αὔρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

except as regards the initial  $\alpha$ ; but that it is of the feminine gender appears from ll. 38, 75. Next comes the statement of the rate of assessment, which is generally either twenty or forty drachmas per  $\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$ , and is indicated by such symbols as  $\alpha\bar{\nu}/\mu$ , i.e.  $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ . This is followed by the statement of the extent of the property, which is given in  $\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ , of which the symbol is  $\gamma$ . The notation of the fractions of the  $\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$  is difficult at first sight, but has been elucidated by Wilcken in his article on "Griechische Ostraka," referred to above. The fractions employed are exclusively those of the series  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{3}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ ,  $\frac{1}{128}$ ,  $\frac{1}{256}$ . There are in addition symbols for  $\frac{2}{3}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ , but in no other case was it possible for a Greek to denote a fraction with any other numerator than unity. The simple method of denoting a fraction is by writing the numerals of the denominator with a line drawn over them; but the numerals have suffered some modification of shape in several instances. The fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  is represented by a semicircular curve  $\smile$ , which is often joined to the figure preceding it. The  $\delta$  which should stand for  $\frac{1}{4}$  has a shape exactly resembling an English printed d. The  $\eta$  for  $\frac{1}{8}$  is of the shape in which it is found in the recently-discovered papyrus MS. of Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*, but which is rare elsewhere, viz.  $\eta$  (which must be carefully distinguished from the very similar symbol for 90). There is no difficulty about  $\frac{1}{16}$ , which is represented by  $\overline{\alpha\varsigma}$ ; but the  $\overline{\lambda\beta}$ , which should stand for  $\frac{1}{32}$ , is converted into  $\overline{\lambda\omicron}$ , and sometimes into a mere scribble, and similarly  $\overline{\xi\omicron}$  instead of  $\overline{\xi\delta}$  denotes  $\frac{1}{64}$ , the  $\omicron$  in both cases being often written not much larger than a dot. The two remaining fractions,  $\frac{2}{3}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ , present no difficulty, except that the last two letters of the former are generally written carelessly and indistinctly, and look not unlike an  $\omega$ . Finally,  $\frac{3}{4}$  is represented by  $\gamma$ , a variant of the symbol for  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; and  $\frac{2}{3}$  (which apparently occurs once in this papyrus, l. 42) by  $\omicron$ . There are often several entries under this part of the record, separate items of the same species being introduced by  $\alpha\lambda\lambda$  or  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ . Each number is checked off by a stroke above it, apparently in different ink.

Next follows the statement of the sums paid or due. The headings under which these are arranged are given in the abbreviations  $\delta\iota\omicron\iota$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\rho$ ,  $\pi\rho^{\circ}$  or  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma^{\circ}$ , and  $\omicron\upsilon\omega$  or  $\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ . The first of these may be assumed to stand for  $\delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , denoting sums due to the treasury. The second clearly indicates some purpose connected with religion, presumably the maintenance of sacred rites. The third stands for  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon\iota$ , and means that the sum mentioned is still owing; and as the deficiency may occur in reference to the dues either of state or church, this heading is found in connection with both of the other two. The final heading must represent some tax in connection with wine, but neither the exact reading of the word nor the character of the tax is certain. The entry in each case ends with a statement of the total liability of the person or persons in question, and at the foot of each column the total of all the sums recorded in the column is given, together with the totals under each of the headings just enumerated. The symbols used in this section of the record are not difficult. The sums are stated in drachmas, obols, and chalchi. The word drachma is represented by either of two symbols,  $\}$  or  $f$ ; the latter, when it follows an abbreviated word, such as  $\delta\iota\omicron\iota$  or  $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ , being generally joined to the line which indicates abbreviation.\*

\* Wilcken (*Observationes ad historiam Aegypti provinciae Romanae*, p. 55) observes that the symbol  $f$  appears in the 2nd century A.D., replacing the older  $\}$ , which is found in the

Ptolemaic papyri (cf. Pap. xxii., etc.). He also (*Hermes*, xix. 291) notices the occurrence of the two signs  $\}$  and  $f$  in the same papyrus. They are, in fact, only variant shapes of the same symbol.



The obols are represented by the well-known symbols —, =, /, f, and f. The notation for the chalchi, of which eight made an obol, is less commonly met, except on the ostraka. One chalchus is represented by χ or χ°, two by χ<sup>β</sup>, which however commonly takes the form of χ<sup>ο</sup>, three by χ<sup>γ</sup>, and four by ο<sup>γ</sup>; numbers above four are represented by combining the symbol of the latter number with that for one, two, or three chalchi, as is required. In the present papyrus, however, the only amounts of chalchi met with are 2, 4, and 6, represented respectively by χ<sup>ο</sup>, ο<sup>γ</sup>, and ο<sup>γ</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>.

With these explanations the general sense of the document will be clear; but there are some symbols and abbreviations of which the meaning is still doubtful, though they may admit of explanation by those who have had the opportunity of studying the papyri of this class in the continental libraries, if any such exist. The writing of this papyrus is bold and clear, and is of the same type as that of the document (Pap. CXXXI.) on the back of which is written Aristotle's 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, and which bears the date of 78-79 A.D. The present document may be rather later, but it cannot safely be placed lower than the beginning of the second century of our era.

The papyrus measures, in its present condition, 10 ft. 6 in. in length and 14 inches in height; but at least three columns are missing in the course of it. Most of the columns are badly mutilated, but where it is preserved the papyrus is of good quality and the writing in good condition. A further portion of the same MS. will be found under the number CIXA. It was acquired by the Museum twelve years before the main portion, and is retained under the number originally given to it, in order to avoid confusion in references.

(Col. 1.)

ιθ<sup>ο</sup> αλλ<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> 4 ις<sup>ο</sup> λο<sup>ο</sup> α[λλ<sup>ο</sup>] . . . λο<sup>ο</sup> ρκη<sup>ο</sup> αλ[λ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ο</sup>] γ<sup>ο</sup> d ις<sup>ο</sup> αλλ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>α</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> 4 λο<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup> αλλο<sup>ο</sup> κβ<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup>  
(αλλ<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> 4 λο<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup>) [αλλ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>γ</sup>] γ<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup> α[λλο<sup>ο</sup> κδ<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup>] ξο<sup>ο</sup> αλλο<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup> αλλο<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> λο<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> κ<sup>ς</sup>  
γ<sup>ο</sup> α 4 4 λο<sup>ο</sup> ξο<sup>ο</sup> ρκη<sup>ο</sup> . . . . . η<sup>ο</sup> f ο<sup>γ</sup> αλ[λο<sup>ο</sup> πη<sup>ο</sup> περ]ισ<sup>ο</sup> λδ<sup>ο</sup> πη<sup>ο</sup> ε<sup>ο</sup> αλλο<sup>ο</sup> απο<sup>ο</sup> πη<sup>ο</sup> β<sup>ο</sup> πη<sup>ο</sup> \  
αλ<sup>[αο]</sup> πη<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> / π[η<sup>ο</sup>] . . . γλ<sup>ο</sup> διοι<sup>ο</sup> f κς<sup>ο</sup> f χ<sup>ο</sup> [/] διοι<sup>ο</sup> f σλζ<sup>ο</sup> f πρ<sup>ο</sup> f [ι]δ<sup>ο</sup> f χ<sup>ο</sup> οιν<sup>ο</sup> [λ]δ<sup>ο</sup> = χ<sup>ο</sup>  
/ } σπς<sup>ο</sup> f ο<sup>γ</sup>

5 Επωνυχος νε<sup>ο</sup> Πετεχωντος και Τικως Επωνυχου Φαηριος λαχ<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>ν</sup> [f κ κ<sup>ο</sup>] ε<sup>ο</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> λο<sup>ο</sup>  
διοι<sup>ο</sup> f ο<sup>γ</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> προσ<sup>ο</sup> [χ<sup>ο</sup>] — f

Επωνυχοι δυο Πε[τεχωντ]ος Φαηριο[ς] . . . [ιδι]ο<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>γ</sup> γ<sup>ο</sup> 4' δ[ι]οι . . . — / . . .

Ιναρως Ωρου διαπ . . . Ψενμωνθου . . . φδ<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>ν</sup> f κ . . . . . f β . . . .

Line 2. The round brackets are in the MS., and show that the entry is to be omitted. In this case the words *eis akai* have been written underneath, showing that the entry belonged to another heading in the return.

Line 3. The first group of figures has been corrected. πη<sup>ο</sup>: i.e. πήχεις. The η is a remarkable one, being formed thus γ; but it also occurs, only with a straight tail, in the lately discovered MS. of Aristotle's 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, the date of which must nearly coincide with that of the present MS. For the meaning of the groups of symbols in which this word occurs,

see note on l. 44.

Line 4. The numbers have been corrected throughout. In the total, σπς, the σ is strangely formed, but is required by the items. The amount for the wine is arrived at by comparison with ll. 14, 15, as well as from the total required here.

Line 5. νε<sup>ο</sup>: i.e. νεώτερος; cf. l. 13. λαχ<sup>ο</sup>: i.e. λαχανά; cf. introductory note to this papyrus.

Line 8. φδ<sup>ο</sup>: this symbol recurs in l. 52, where it perhaps = αὐτός.



(Col. 3.)

- [Τι]κως Π[ικωτος] και Ψεναμουνι[s] . . . . [κ]αι συν Επωνυχος νε<sup>ο</sup> Ψα . . s  
 . . . ιδιο<sup>ς</sup> αῦς . . . . . διοι<sup>ς</sup> f ις [προσδ<sup>ς</sup>] f α / } ιζ  
 . . . απεβθιος . . . . . [α]κα, ιδιο<sup>ς</sup> β̄ τ d . . . [α]λλαι ακα, πανυ αῦ f ρν ιᾱ τ υ<sup>ι</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> ις . . α<sup>λ</sup> υλοξο  
 . . . f ιη f ο<sup>ς</sup> αλ[λ<sup>ο</sup>] . . . τ ξο<sup>ς</sup> αλλ<sup>ο</sup> . . τ ξ[ο] . . . τ λο̄ ξο̄ αλλ<sup>ο</sup> τ ῡ λο̄ ) / ι ις ξο ρκη  
 35 . . . ῡ ις λο̄ ξο̄ διοι . . . . . διοι<sup>ς</sup> f λ=ιερ̄ f ιη f ο<sup>ς</sup> προσδ<sup>ς</sup> διοι<sup>ς</sup> f α f ο<sup>ς</sup> διοι ις f  
 [ιερ] f α-χ<sup>ο</sup> ο[ινου] f β f χ<sup>ο</sup> / } νδ f ο<sup>ς</sup>  
 [Τ]απειης Πικωτ<sup>ο</sup> και Ψανεω . . . . . συν Πετεκαί<sup>ο</sup>  
 . . . διαφ<sup>ο</sup> τε<sup>λ</sup> του προ<sup>ς</sup> της ακα, . . . . . f κ̄ εις = f μ' το διαπρο . . . παραγραφε  
 . . . [διοι<sup>ς</sup> ι]ς f πρ<sup>ο</sup> f α οω<sup>ς</sup> f s f / } κδ=  
 . . . αλασιρι<sup>ο</sup> πρ̄ Επω[νυχου] . . . αῦς μ̄ λ τ β ις λο̄ ᾱ τ [α λο̄ ξο̄ δι]οι/μα f χ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup>  
 γ β̄ f ο<sup>ς</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> οω<sup>ς</sup> f η=χ<sup>ο</sup> / } νβ f χ<sup>ο</sup>
- 40 [Τι]κως Επωνυχ[ου] Φαηρ[ι]ος ακα, αῦς μ̄ β̄ τ α αλλο λ ις ξο̄ δ̄ τ λο̄ ρκη α<sup>λ</sup> δ̄ τ ῡ ῡ λο̄  
 (πρ . .) [ / ] τ α ῡ ις ρκη̄ δι[οι<sup>ς</sup> f ο]ς f αλλο̄ φ̄οι αῦς κ . . (τ ῡ ῡ λο̄ αλλο) τ υ<sup>ι</sup>  
 [αλ]λο κβ̄ τ d ρκη̄ [αλλο] λ λο<sup>ς</sup> το ο' τ ξο̄ [ρκη̄] αλλο ακρο<sup>ς</sup> κ̄ε τ λο̄ ξο̄  
 [ / ] τ d ῡ ις ξο̄ δι[οι<sup>ς</sup> f ] [θ]ο<sup>ς</sup> / διοι<sup>ς</sup> f πς f ο<sup>ς</sup> [πρ]ο/ ε=ο<sup>ς</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> οω<sup>ς</sup> f ιε f ο<sup>ς</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> / } ρη
- [Τι]κως Επωνυχου του, αρπο<sup>ς</sup> Επωνυχου πη<sup>ς</sup> περισ<sup>ς</sup> πη<sup>ς</sup> λδ̄ ∪ διοι<sup>ς</sup> f β f  
 45 πρ[ο] — / } β f
- [Τα]πε[της] Πικωτ<sup>ο</sup> ακα, ιδι<sup>ο</sup> αῦς μ̄ ε̄ τ υ<sup>ι</sup> διοι<sup>ς</sup> f ε πρ<sup>ο</sup>=οω<sup>ς</sup> f α / } s=  
 { } σξ[ς ο<sup>ς</sup>] χ<sup>ο</sup> ων διοι } ρς θ—ο<sup>ς</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> προσδ<sup>ς</sup> f ιβ f ιερ } ιη f ο<sup>ς</sup> προσδ<sup>ς</sup> f [α-] χ<sup>ο</sup> οω<sup>ς</sup> f λδ=χ<sup>ο</sup>

Line 31. *Τικως Πικωτος*: the name is restored from l. 52. *συν*: apparently used adverbially; cf. ll. 50, 77, and probably l. 37.

Line 33. A line of correction is written above this line, and continued in the margin. *πανυ*: the reading is very doubtful.

Line 34. Under the second αλλ<sup>ο</sup> is written *εις ακα*. This portion of the account is to be cancelled, as the bracket at the end of the line shows; but it is uncertain where the cancelling begins.

Line 35. *προσδ<sup>ς</sup> διοι<sup>ς</sup>*: i.e. *προσδ<sup>ς</sup> διοικ<sup>ς</sup>σται*, as distinct from the *ιέρων*; cf. ll. 106, 120.

Line 37. This line has been written in later, in small and compressed characters. The termination of the last name is doubtful.

Line 39. In the final total the number of drachmas is a little doubtful, but the items prove that it must be νβ. A wide interval separates this line from the next.

Line 40. λ ις̄ ξο̄ κ.τ.λ.: the phrases in which this doubtful symbol occurs always consist of some number (generally a fraction of an aroura) followed by a smaller number of the same description; and this latter number is almost invariably half the former (in l. 113 it is one quarter, in l. 78 it is a third, in l. 79 it is particularly specified that it is to be three quarters).

The assessment is always on the smaller number; hence one may conjecture that the larger amount gives the whole extent of the ground, of which only the smaller amount is taxable. Thus here the whole amount is  $\frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15}$ , and the amount assessed is  $\frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15}$ . The meaning of the figure following the first group of fractions remains obscure: cf. l. 27.

Line 41. A strip of papyrus, bearing other writing, has been pasted over the beginning of this column, and the letters *πρ* in this line belong to this other writing.

Line 42. *ακρο<sup>ς</sup>*: cf. introductory note.

Line 43. The numbers in this line have been corrected throughout.

Line 44. *πη<sup>ς</sup> περισ<sup>ς</sup> πη<sup>ς</sup> λδ̄ ∪*: phrases of this class occur in ll. 3, 12, 55, 62, 66, 68, 81, 110, 113, 126, 133, but the exact analysis of them is obscure. They evidently denote an extent of ground, and possibly mean so many square cubits. The exact reading of the letters here given as *περισ<sup>ς</sup>* is doubtful. The figures generally include a number above 30 and a much smaller one, here 34 and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and possibly the phrase denotes a piece of ground measuring 34 cubits by half a cubit; but in that case the rate of assessment is very much higher than that usual in the rest of this document.





- Και δια Πικωτος  $\bar{\beta}$  νιον διαγν<sup>ω</sup> Πολλιδ<sup>ο</sup> Πεωχ<sup>ο</sup> πη<sup>κ</sup> περιστ<sup>ι</sup> πη<sup>κ</sup> (διοι } β f πρ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ————— f β f
- 70 και . του  $\bar{\alpha}$  . . . . κλειτ<sup>ο</sup> π . . . . χα Πικωτ<sup>ο</sup> και των . . . . . Πικωτ<sup>ο</sup> λαχ<sup>ι</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\bar{\kappa}$   $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon$   
 υ υ' διοι f β f πρ<sup>ο</sup> — / f β f
- Και δια Πετεχωντος αλλου νιου διαγν<sup>ω</sup> Φατρηους Ωρου Πικωτος Πεπαρπρυ<sup>ο</sup>  
 και Πασημης Πεκωτ<sup>ο</sup> Πασημιο<sup>ς</sup>  
 μ<sup>η</sup> Εσουηρι<sup>ο</sup> φ<sup>ο</sup>ι  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\mu$  υ d<sup>ις</sup> διοι f ι β f πρ<sup>ο</sup> f ο' / } ι γ — ο'
- Ψανσωνς Ερμιον και Ταπηις Πικωτος πρ<sup>ι</sup> Πελαιου (φ<sup>ο</sup>ι ιδιο<sup>ς</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\kappa$ ) ε υ ις ξο ρκη α<sup>λ</sup>  
 75 (διοι<sup>ς</sup> } α f αλλα ακα<sup>ι</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\mu$ ) δ υ ις ρκη (αλλο κς υ λο ξο ρκη) / υ d 'λο' διοι } ι α — ο'  
 / } β = προσ<sup>ς</sup> f ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> — f ι γ ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> ου<sup>ο</sup> } β — ο' / } ι ε = χ<sup>ο</sup>
- Ψεναμονις Ψαιτ<sup>ο</sup> και συν Πικωτ<sup>ο</sup> αδ<sup>ε</sup> φ<sup>ο</sup>ι ιδιο<sup>ς</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\kappa$   $\bar{\kappa}\alpha$  υ ρκη διοι — χ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> / — ο'
- Ψενενομφις Παθειουτος φ<sup>ο</sup>ι ιδιο<sup>ς</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\kappa$  λ d  $\bar{\mu}$  λο ξο κα υ  $\bar{\mu}$  ξο διοι f β f πρ<sup>ο</sup> — / } γ
- Ψεμμωνθης Αγαθου φ<sup>ο</sup>ι ιδιο<sup>ς</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\kappa$   $\bar{\kappa}\beta$  λ d υ' το θ υ d λο' διοι<sup>ς</sup> f ε f ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> αλλο  
 80 μυρο<sup>ς</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}\nu/\lambda$  λ ις λο ξο το θ υ ις λο διοι f β f ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> / διοι<sup>ς</sup> f η — ο' πρ<sup>ο</sup> f χ<sup>ο</sup> / } η f ο' χ<sup>ο</sup>  
 λ πη<sup>κ</sup> κβ το υ')
- Ψαις Πικωτος πη<sup>κ</sup> περιστ<sup>ι</sup> λγ πη<sup>κ</sup> ις διοι f προσ<sup>ς</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> / f χ<sup>ο</sup>  
 } κη ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> [ων διοι]ι } κδ — ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> προσ<sup>ς</sup> f α f ο' ου<sup>ο</sup> f β [— ο']
- (Col. 6.) λα
- ιερ<sup>ο</sup>  
 (σ<sub>1</sub> f ω λ θ f ο')
- 85 (ρ π ζ f ο' σ ο δ f χ<sup>ο</sup> κ ζ = ρ μ γ ο' χ<sup>ο</sup> ν κ σ f χ<sup>ο</sup> ρ ζ χ<sup>ο</sup>)  
 ν ε — χ<sup>ο</sup> σ λ ε — τ ι ζ — ο' κ δ f ι η f ο' ρ π η f χ<sup>ο</sup>  
 / } ω λ θ f ο'
- προσ<sup>ς</sup>  
 (σ<sub>1</sub> f ν β f χ<sup>ο</sup>)

Line 68. διαγν<sup>ω</sup>: the same word as in l. 48, apparently, but the reading is rather doubtful.

Line 70. This line and l. 72 have been inserted later; the writing is much huddled together and consequently hard to decipher.

Line 73. μ<sup>η</sup>: cf. note on l. 56.

Line 74. ε: there may be a figure preceding this, but it appears to be only a δ erased.

Line 80. μυρο<sup>ς</sup>: probably = μυροβάλανοι. The βάλανος μυρεψική was grown in Egypt; cf. Diosc. iv. 160.

Line 82. Apparently the totals in this line are only calculated for the entries from Ψανσωνς Ερμιον (l. 74) onwards.

Line 83. This column contains a summary of the totals contained in the preceding columns under three of the principal headings; namely, that of the sums paid for religious purposes, that of those still due to the same, and that for wine. Another column, now lost, presumably preceded this, containing the

totals under the other headings. The earlier totals in each case are taken from portions of the papyrus which are now lost; the later ones occur in the columns already given. The scheme is the same in each section. First comes the heading of the section; then a total sum, enclosed in brackets; then a line containing several sums, also enclosed in brackets, which may refer to some portion of the papyrus not preserved; then another list of sums of money, not enclosed in brackets (it is in this line that the totals given in preceding columns of the papyrus occur); finally the total of this last line, which agrees in two cases with that given in the second line of the section. At the head of the column is a number, apparently λα (31), which confirms the conjecture that a column is missing between this and the one just given as col. 5.

Line 84. σ<sub>1</sub>: probably for συγκεφάλαιωμα or some similar word.

90 (ιαφ<sup>ο</sup> ιζ<sup>ο</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> αφ θχ<sup>ο</sup> κςφ ιβ)  
 γ<sup>ο</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> ιδφ<sup>ο</sup> ιθφ αφχ<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>ο</sup> χ<sup>ο</sup> ιαφ<sup>ο</sup> / } νβφχ<sup>ο</sup>

οινουτῶ

(σ<sub>1</sub> / ρμθ)

(βχ<sup>ο</sup> βφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> ιζ<sup>ο</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> β ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> σ)

95 ξα = μβφ<sup>ο</sup> λβφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> β λδ = χ<sup>ο</sup> η [β - ο<sup>ο</sup>]  
 / } ρπγ =

(Col. 7.)

Μητροπολεως Ομοιως λαιρας Χαρακος

Απολλωνιδης Σωτηρος ακα<sub>1</sub> αῦ / μ δ̄ β d διαι / ι πρ<sup>ο</sup> / σ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> [οῦ<sup>ο</sup>] / β / } ιβ / σ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>

100 Αμμωνιος Επικρατους μερη β̄ Ηρακλειδης αδε μερη β̄ . . . ατιδ<sup>ο</sup> Ηρακλιτος  
 μερ<sup>ο</sup> ā Πικως Φιλοξενου και Κλεοσπας αδε το Η Τασουχας . . . . κίου το d μερ<sup>ο</sup> ā  
 / μερη ζ̄ φ̄δ̄ αῦ / ρπ ε̄ β̄ λο<sup>ο</sup> διαι } εφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> προσ<sup>ο</sup> = χ<sup>ο</sup> — / σ

Αμμωνιος Επικρατους φ̄δ̄ ιδι<sup>ο</sup> αῦ / κ ιζ̄ β̄ d αλλο ακρ[ο<sup>ο</sup>] . . β̄ ξο<sup>ο</sup> / β̄ d ξο<sup>ο</sup>  
 διαι / εφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> = χ<sup>ο</sup> / } ε

105 Ισιδωρος Ξενουφιος ακα<sub>1</sub> αῦ / μ λ̄ β̄ β̄ d διαι / ι αλλο αῦ / ρν̄ ιβ̄ β̄ / λ̄ ξο ρκη  
 αλλο ιβ̄ β̄ / ῡ λο̄ ξο αλλο ιγ̄ ρκη / β̄ / ῡ ις λο̄ ξο ιερ̄ / ρι αλλαι αῦ / οε κθ̄ λ̄ ῡ λο̄  
 β̄ ις̄ ξο̄ ιερ̄ / εφ<sup>ο</sup> / διαι<sup>ο</sup> / ι ιερ̄ / ριεφ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> διαι / σ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> [ιερ̄] / ζ̄ - ο<sup>ο</sup> οῦ<sup>ο</sup> / β̄  
 / } ρλε̄ φ̄ ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>

(Κοιντος Αποληιος Ατεξι<sup>ο</sup>ς δια Μαρκου Πολλιου Κρεσπου το . . Πετεμνωφιος Φθοσενως)  
 το θ̄ φ̄δ̄ αῦ / κ ιζ̄ β̄ ις̄ ξο̄ διαι / αφ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup> — / αφ̄ χ<sup>ο</sup>  
εις κερ) μη . . . μαρκ<sup>ο</sup> π . . .

Κρονιος Πικωτος φ̄δ̄ αῦ / κ ιβ̄ β̄ ις̄ ξο̄ διαι / αφ<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> [ο<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>] / } αφ̄ χ<sup>ο</sup>

110 Κεφαλός Πετεχεπποκρατου πη<sup>ο</sup> περισ<sup>ο</sup> λ̄ θ̄ πη<sup>ο</sup> β̄ λ̄ λο̄ διαι / δ̄ [πρ<sup>ο</sup> - ο<sup>ο</sup>] / } δ̄ [-] ο<sup>ο</sup>  
 } ρξ̄ / χ<sup>ο</sup> οῦ<sup>ο</sup> διαι } [λς̄ φ̄ πρ<sup>ο</sup> } ] β̄ / χ<sup>ο</sup> ιερ̄ } ριε̄ φ̄ ο<sup>ο</sup> πρ<sup>ο</sup> / ζ̄ - ο<sup>ο</sup> [οῦ<sup>ο</sup> } δ̄].

Line 97. Another division of the document begins here, containing apparently another section of the *μητρόπολις*. This title was applied to the capital of each nome, but in this case Thebes is probably the city referred to; for Wilcken has shown (*Gr. Ostr.* p. 246) that the name *Χάραξ* is frequently found as denoting a district of that town. The name of *λαῦρα* here given to it and its dependence on *μητροπόλεως* would appear to throw doubt on his theory that *Χάραξ* denoted a separate quarter of the town, independent of that which was technically known as the *μητρόπολις*. Cf. Pap. cixa. l. 1, where another such *λαῦρα* is mentioned, named *Νότος*. Probably the name *λαῦρα*, at first meaning simply a street, came to mean the district of which the street was the main thoroughfare; but the districts appear to have remained parts of the *μητρόπολις*.

Line 99. *μερη*: in this entry a *φουικίων* is held jointly by six

partners, two of whom hold  $\frac{1}{12}$  each, one  $\frac{1}{6}$ , two  $\frac{3}{16}$  between them, and one  $\frac{1}{16}$ .

Line 103. *εφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>*: there is some confusion as to this number. It appears to be written as given in the text, though the *ο<sup>ο</sup>* may have been inserted later; but in order to make the total of this line 6 drachmas, it should be *εφ<sup>ο</sup>χ<sup>ο</sup>*.

Line 106. *πρ<sup>ο</sup> διαι*: cf. note on l. 34. The 7 dr. 1 obol 4 chalch. next mentioned is the sum still due for religious purposes, as the 4 obols 6 chalch. is that still due to the treasury.

Lines 107, 108. Under this cancelled entry is written a note which is not entirely legible, but which seems to indicate that the entry is to be transferred to the 48th column of this register. The second word appears to be *κερη*, but it is not clear what word it represents, unless *κέρας* can be supposed to have been used to mean a column of writing.

(Col. 8.)

.. τηρ Κορ . . . ιος . . . π . . . . . διοι / [γ-ο'χ° πρ°-ο'χ° / } γfο']

Συναρπρης Μηνοδωρου [πη<sup>x</sup>] περιστ' λ' πη<sup>x</sup> πη<sup>x</sup> υ' διοι f πρ°[χ°] / f' χ°<sup>fo</sup>

Συνψευχωνις Απολλων[ιου] φῶι ιδι° αῦ f κ ιθ' υ' ξο° διοι -ο'χ° / -ο'[χ°]

115 Ταχρατιδος Φιλοξενου δ[ια] Λυσιμαχου Παπεοντος φῶι αῦ f κ . . υ' ξο ρκη σ[νς διοι f f]  
προσ<sup>δ</sup> χ° ————— [f] χ°

Ψανσωνς Ψενενουφιος ακα, αῦ f μ β' υ' υ' d διοι f ι αλλαι . . . f ρν . . .  
ιβ' υ' λo ξο ρκη αλλ° ιβ' (λ d ις λo) υ' υ' λo ξο αλλ° ιγ' υ' ρκη° αλλ° λ ξο[υ] ρκη°  
ιερ f ρια = αλλο φῶι αῦ f οε' κθ' λ υ' λo υ' ις ξο ιερ f ε f ο'χ° [διοι] ι } ι ιερ f ριζ-ο'  
120 προσ<sup>δ</sup> διοι f ο'χ° ιερ f ζ = οιν f β — f ρλ [ζ-] χ°

} ρμβ = ων διοι [ } ιδ f ο' πρ° } α ιερ, ριζ-ο' πρ° f ] ζ = ο[ιν f β]

(Col. 9.)

.. . . . μ . υ' αλλο β' υ' β d ξο° / υ' β α ξο°

.. . . . f . β / } ρμ

.. . . . αμφῶι Αμμωνι° φῶι ιδιο° αῦ f κ ις υ' υ' διοι f β f

125 .. . . . f χ°

.. . . . ος φῶι ιδιο° αῦ f κ ιθ' υ' ις ξο διοι f α f ο'χ° αλλο πη<sup>x</sup> περιστ' λβ

.. . . . / πη<sup>x</sup> β' ξο διοι } γ f ο'χ° / δ[ιοι } ] ε f ο' πρ° f / λ s ο' } δ ο'

.. . . . ωρ° Φατρηους και Ψανσωντος Ψ[ενεν]ουφιος και Αωλιος

.. . . . και Μαξιμου Φατρηο[υς] } β

130 .. . . . πρ° α-ο' οι[ν°] . .

.. . θης Σποτ[ουτος] . . . . [αῦ f] μ γ υ' α ις διοι° f μ[β f] πρ° β f ο[ν° η f] / } νγ f  
( Ο αυτος δια Επωνυχου του . . ρπουρα Επωνυχου φῶι ιδιο° αῦ f κ ις διοι° s=ο' )  
αλλο πη<sup>x</sup> περιστ' πη<sup>x</sup> β . . διοι° f ια f / } ιζ f ο' προσ<sup>δ</sup> f α- / } ιθ ο'

Line 112. This line is almost entirely lost. The sums supplied are arrived at by a comparison of the items given in the other entries with the total in l. 121.

Line 113. The figures *fo* added above the end of this line do not belong to the same document as the rest. This column is written on papyrus which has been pasted over a sheet on which, in part at any rate, there was already writing. There are similar remains of the writing of the lower stratum at the end of ll. 115, 117, and lower, which may be seen in the photograph, but are not transcribed here.

Line 115. The lacunae at the end of this line and in the middle of the next are supplied by a calculation of the amount

due on the specified fraction of an aoura at the stated rate of 20 drachmas per aoura.

Line 121. There is a wide space left blank between the end of the items and this line containing the totals. After this column the papyrus breaks off. The beginnings of a few lines are visible in the next column, which apparently contained only figures; we see the sums 51 dr. 3 obols 4 chalc., 3 dr. 3 obols, 233 dr., 14 dr. 3 obols 4 chalc., and 6 dr., but nothing else.

Line 122. This column, which is not consecutive with the last (*vid.* note on l. 121), is considerably mutilated. The top portion is separated from the bottom, and has lost its left side.

Line 132. ε = : the total given in the next line requires that

135 Ισιδωρος Συνμουθου και Θαησις ἀδὲ δια κληροῦν Πετιαρποῦ Ψενοσιριος Κοπτειτ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ακα, αὐ / τν 1 ι5 ῡ λο̄ ξο̄ ιερ } ι5 / πρ<sup>ο</sup> α χ<sup>ο</sup> / } ι5 / χ<sup>ο</sup>

} σμγ f ων διοι } ρπ πρ<sup>ο</sup> / ια f ο'χ<sup>ο</sup> [ιερ] / ι5 / πρ<sup>ο</sup> αχ<sup>ο</sup> οιν<sup>ο</sup> } λδ f

(Col. 10.)

(a)

. . . Ψεναμουνιος Χεσφμοιτος ακα, . . .  
 . . . } β f — / μη

140 . . . Ψε . . . . . τιος ακα, αὐ / τν . . . .  
 . . . . . 1 2 4 . . . . .

(b)

. . . . . } χοη  
 . . . . . / οε  
 . . . . . / } ωκξ-χ<sup>ο</sup>  
 . . . . . ῡ ι5 ξο̄ / ῡ α 5 διοι / ξβ f

145 . . . . . διοι / β f πρ<sup>ο</sup>-χ<sup>ο</sup> / } β f χ<sup>ο</sup>

(c)

. . . . . φοῑ ιδιο<sup>ε</sup> αὐ / . . . . .

. . . ωνυριος Ψεντετηους . . . . .  
 . . . διοι / λ 9 φοῑ αὐ / κ [ῡ] . . λο̄ ξο̄ . . . . .  
 } β = / διοι<sup>ε</sup> / λβ = πρ<sup>ο</sup> / β [οιν<sup>ο</sup>] } 5 [/] } [μ =]

150 } ψξα = ο'χ<sup>ο</sup> ων διοι } σλ f πρ<sup>ο</sup> ιδ = ο'χ<sup>ο</sup> ιερ } νπ . . πρ<sup>ο</sup> } . . οιν<sup>ο</sup> } 5

we should read 5— here. Possibly the mistake accounts for the brackets with which this entry is enclosed. The figure for the drachmas is very doubtful, and could not be determined without the assistance of the total.

Line 137. Here follow three detached fragments, the last of which is itself broken into three pieces. It is impossible to tell whether they originally belonged to the same column.

Line 148. 9: cf. note on Pap. cixb. l. 36. The symbol appears to be the same, but in the absence of context it is impossible to be certain.

Line 150. The indications in the papyrus suggest that no figure is lost after νπ, and that the lacuna after πρ<sup>ο</sup> should be filled with λ —.



## PAPYRUS CIXA.

THE fragments grouped together under the number CIX belong to two distinct documents; but it has not been thought advisable to alter the number by which they have been designated for upwards of twenty years. The first of these documents, though acquired by the Museum twelve years earlier than Pap. CXIX, is a part of the same register of taxation, as has already been stated in the introduction to the latter. There are in all nine fragments of it, but only three of these are of such size as to be worth transcribing. The rest are sufficiently represented by the facsimile plates. One of the smaller fragments preserves the column-number, which is 38, and the principal fragment apparently bears the number  $\mu$  (= 40), or possibly  $\lambda\varsigma$  (= 36). These portions of the register are consequently later than those already given.

(Frag. 1.)

N[ο] του λαυρας Ομοιως

Απολλοδωρος Απιωνος νεω Απολλοδωρου . . . . . κληρον . . ακα, γ̄ ῡα . .

ῡ ις̄ ξο / ῡ α ις̄ ξο διοῑς . . . . . αλλο φ̄οῑ ιδιο̄ς α[ν̄ /] κ̄ ιθ̄ ῡ ῡξο . .

ιη̄ ῡ ῡ ις̄ ξο αλλο κ̄ ῡ ις̄ ρκη̄ αλλο . . . . . [ῡ] d ῡ ις̄ ρ[κη̄] διοῑς η̄ φο̄χ̄<sup>κζ</sup>5 παρα<sup>δ</sup> και ακρο<sup>δ</sup> αν̄ / λ̄ κζ̄ ῡ . . . διοῑ φο̄ αλλαῑ διαφο̄ . . . . . παρα<sup>δ</sup>—. . . = ο̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup> προ<sup>ο</sup> } γ=χ̄<sup>ο</sup> οῡ<sup>ο</sup> . . . / ο̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup> — / ε—ο̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup>. . . βουλ̄<sup>ο</sup> ο̄<sup>ο</sup> Κοτταριών Σ . . . . . δ̄ ῡ ( ῡ<sup>ο</sup> διοῑς ) [κ̄ε] προ̄ς αφο̄ / / κς̄φο̄ οῡ<sup>ο</sup> / ε / } λ[αφο̄]Σπονχῑ<sup>ο</sup> ακα, αν̄ / μ̄ δ̄ . . . κερ̄<sup>ο</sup> / α—ο̄ / . . . προ̄ς / δ̄ / } κε—ο̄

. . . . . ρος̄ Φατρη̄ους . . . αν̄ / ρν̄ ιᾱ ῡ . . . λο̄ ξο̄ ᾱ ιγ̄ ῡ ις̄ / . . .

10

/ } ρκζο̄

(Frag. 2.)

Ταως̄ Οσορονηριος̄ [δ̄]ια Πετεχουω̄ . . .

αδ̄ε το γ̄ Πεωχω̄ νεω̄ αλλ̄<sup>ο</sup> αδ̄ε . . .ῡ d ρκη̄ σνς̄ ιερ̄ / αφο̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup> προ̄ς / . . .ῡ ῡ σνς̄ ιερ̄ / με̄ ο̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup> προσ̄<sup>δ</sup> } βφ̄χ̄<sup>ο</sup> . . .

Line 1. Νότος: Νότος, like Χίραξ, has been found by Wilcken to be the name of one of the principal quarters of Thebes (cf. note on Pap. cxix. l. 97). A new section of the register consequently begins here.

Line 2. νεω: the letters are partly lost in a lacuna.

Line 5. παρα<sup>δ</sup> και ακρο<sup>δ</sup>: i.e. παράδεισος και ἀκρόδρυα.

Line 11. It is uncertain whether this fragment precedes or follows that just given. There are traces of a number at the head of it, but too slight to decipher with certainty.

15    εωτ° Φατρηους και αδε̄ Ϝ π¹ Θοτουτ¹ ψο . . . .  
       αῦ / κ ις β ις . . . . διο / β πρ° ο'χ° / / β ο'χ°  
 Χυσθωτης Ιμουθου και . . . . .  
       φσι ιδιο' κ' β d λo διοι / ε f . . . . αλλ° μυρ . . . .  
       ρνζ / ων διοι / ια=ο' πρ° f χ° ιερ / ρλς

20            Ιε̄ρ σι } . ιζ=ο'χ°

(Frag. 3.)

                  f ο'χ° / } ιε f ο'χ° οιν . . . .  
                   f ο'χ°  
                   β f ο' πρo° - χ° / λ β f ο'χ°)  
                   . . . . . Αρσινη° αιρ° ις λo } β ο'χ°)  
 25            ις ξo αλλο ιβ β θ / β α d ις ξo ιε̄ρ  
                   . . . . . χ° προσ² κη f χ° οιν° } κ f ο'χ°

Line 15. Ϝ: apparently the symbol for *και*; cf. note on Pap. cixb. l. 36. π¹ may stand for *παιδες* or *πατήρ*.

Line 19. This last line, containing the totals of the entry, is

written in different ink.

Line 20. Apparently the beginning of an enumeration of totals, as in Pap. cxix. l. 83 ff., *q. v.*

## PAPYRUS CIXB.—2nd cent.

THE following document is extremely fragmentary, and its exact nature is doubtful. It appears, however, to deal with the subject of taxation. It contains a list of names, each name being preceded by a number indicating apparently a sum of money, and followed by another indicating an amount of corn. Four passages of considerable size are preserved, together with thirteen smaller fragments; but only in one case are we fortunate enough to have a tolerably complete column. Some of the fragments have been identified since the facsimile plates were taken, and have been restored to their proper position, as may be seen by comparing the transcript of frag. 4 with the plate. Of the nature of its contents not much can be said. No document of similar character appears to have been published, and it is too incomplete to explain itself. The names are almost entirely Egyptian, with a few that are Greek (Antinous, Soter, Cephalon, Apollodorus, Theon, Isidorus). The readings given of the Egyptian names are often doubtful and tentative. Of the two columns of figures, the left-hand one, preceding the name, is followed by the symbol χ/, which might stand either for *χαλκός* or *χοῖνιξ*. If this represents an income on which the

tax given in the right-hand column was levied, then, in the first place, it cannot be the whole income of the persons named, the quantities being too small (the numbers in the case of the column which is most perfect vary from 1 to 286); and, in the second place, the tax was levied on varying principles, as there is no constant proportion between the numbers in the two columns. The alternative is that it may represent a separate tax, but then one would have expected separate headings to indicate the different purposes.

As to the two possible meanings of the symbol here printed as  $\chi\int$ , it is highly improbable that it can stand for  $\chi\omicron\nu\iota\xi$ . The standard of value for dry measure in Egypt was the artaba, and this is so used in the right-hand column; and it is practically certain that another standard for the same class of measure would not be used in the same document. Further, the term  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  was used in Egypt for money generally. The standard of money value in Egypt was copper, from the beginning of the second century before Christ till some time after the establishment of the Roman empire; and just as in Greece, where the standard was silver,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  was used to denote money generally, so in Egypt the word  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}$  was used for the same purpose (*cf.* Revillout, in *Rev. Egypt.* ii. 264). It is therefore safest to conclude that the numbers in the left-hand columns denote sums of money, calculated in drachmas, which was the standard coin of Egypt; and the symbol employed is simply the letter  $\chi$ , followed by the sign which is often used for "drachma" (see Pap. CXIX, *passim*). The right-hand columns contain various quantities of artabas of wheat, which are denoted by the usual symbol ( $\tau$ ). These sums have been checked off by a stroke in the margin, presumably by another hand, as the ink is of different quality. The chief difficulty lies in deciphering the various fractions of which nearly every entry consists. The quantities are not large, the total of the second column, containing twenty-seven entries, being given at the foot of it as  $22\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{24}$ , while two others are upwards of 27 artabas. The fractions here used differ to some extent from those found in Pap. CXIX. Wilcken (*cf.* introd. to Pap. CXIX.) states, chiefly on the authority of the ostraka, that while the fractions of the  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  are those of the series  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , etc., those of the artaba are  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{1}{24}$ , etc. In the present document fractions of both series are found, since  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  occur, as well as  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{1}{24}$ ,  $\frac{1}{48}$ . The symbols for  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{6}$  have nothing irregular; but  $\frac{1}{12}$  is represented by  $\iota\omicron^\epsilon$  instead of  $\iota\beta$ , and  $\frac{1}{24}$  by  $\kappa\omicron^\epsilon$  (in this papyrus more resembling  $\omega$  or  $\kappa\omega$ ) instead of  $\kappa\delta$ . The symbol for  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\omicron^\lambda$ , is also found in this document.

The papyrus is of unusual height, measuring  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Its original length cannot be given, but the columns appear to have been about 6 inches in width. The writing is of fair size, but very cursive, and consequently difficult to decipher in the case of unfamiliar Egyptian names. The date appears on palæographical grounds to be not later than the second century, the hand being akin to that of Pap. CXIX.

(Frag. 1.)

|                  |            |           |                                                 |                                                      |       |
|------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| $\rho\zeta\zeta$ | $\chi\int$ | . . . . . | $\nu\omega\theta$                               | $\Phi\alpha\eta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$           | . . . |
| $\kappa\gamma$   | $\chi\int$ | . . .     | $\epsilon\nu\omega\phi\iota\omicron[\varsigma]$ | $\Psi\epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\nu^\epsilon$ | . . . |

Line 1. The method of numbering the columns is unfamiliar, and consequently it is difficult to be sure of the true order. That the column here given was not originally the first is shown

by the fact that a mutilated strip of papyrus, attached to its left-hand bottom corner, contains the remains of two preceding columns.

|    |     |   |                                                                  |                   |
|----|-----|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
|    | σοβ | χ | ..... ο και Πεκως Ψεωχ <sup>ω</sup>                              |                   |
| 5  | ρη  | τ | ..... Χονομπρησως                                                | ...               |
|    |     | χ | ..... ο και Πεχως Ψεωχ <sup>ω</sup> αρ <sup>ι</sup>              | ...               |
|    | σπα | χ | ..... Αλεξα[νδ]ρου Ψεωνο <sup>ν</sup> α[ρι <sup>ς</sup> ]        | ...               |
|    | νβ  | χ | Σ..... Π..... ου                                                 | ...               |
|    | πη  | χ | Π..... Φαραθου και Σωπ <sup>α</sup> αδ[ε]                        | ...               |
| 10 | ρ   | χ | Ψεωσ . . . ως Φαπιως και αδε—                                    | ...               |
|    | μδ  | χ | . . νμουθις Π[α]μοθου                                            | ...               |
|    |     | χ | . . ωνθ <sup>ο</sup> Σωφιος . . . . .                            | ...               |
|    |     |   | . . . . . νσις Φθονμοθου                                         | ...               |
|    |     |   | . . . . . Ψε[θ]αμοννις Πετεια <sup>ο</sup> και . . .             | τ . .             |
| 15 |     |   | . . . . . φις ο Θοτεως και αδε—                                  | τ . .             |
|    |     |   | . . . . . Ηρων ο και Αντινοος παννυσθ <sup>ο</sup>               | τ . .             |
|    |     |   | . . . . . Τρεμπρηχ <sup>ν</sup> . . . ωτος                       | τ β .             |
|    |     |   | . . . . . αποτη . . . Παχω <sup>ν</sup>                          | τ . .             |
|    |     |   | . . . . . Χολ . . . . . Α . . . . . ωθου                         | τ . .             |
| 20 |     |   | . . . . . Σωμουθης Π <sup>κω</sup> και αδε—                      | τ ιο <sup>ν</sup> |
|    |     | χ | Φ . . . . . και Ψεωχ <sup>ω</sup> αδ—                            | ...               |
|    |     | χ | Πα . . . . . μως Πετεχωντος                                      | τ . .             |
|    |     | δ | Φθ . . . . . Φθουωθ <sup>ο</sup> Ψεωμινιος                       | τ . .             |
|    | μδ  | χ | Πασημις Ψενοσιρι <sup>ο</sup> και Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> α <sup>δ</sup> | τ . .             |
| 25 | ξ   | χ | Σω . . . . . ις Αρνωθου                                          | τ . . . .         |
|    | οα  | χ | ισα                                                              |                   |
|    | ιε  | χ | Ερια Πετεχωντος                                                  | τ . .             |
|    | σοβ | χ | Ηρων ο και Αντινοος παννυστι <sup>ο</sup>                        | τ β               |
|    | ροη | χ | Θεων Βασσου                                                      | τ β               |
| 30 | σις | χ | Παμωθης Σωψαν . ωτ <sup>ο</sup>                                  | τ δ               |
|    |     |   | τ κζ υ <sup>ο</sup>                                              |                   |

Line 4. Πεκως : the first two letters are much mutilated, and the reading is doubtful. It appears, however, that it is the same person who is mentioned in l. 6, though his name is here spelt with a κ instead of a χ.

Line 5. The symbol following the number ρηη has the appearance of a large and roughly formed ν, and may be an attempt to write the more usual χ without lifting the pen; but no reason is apparent for such an occasional divergence, which only occurs in a few instances (ll. 36, 37, 45, 104, 109, 110, 117).

Line 6. The figure in the first column has not been filled in. αρ<sup>ι</sup>: this word occurs several times in this document, and probably means that several other persons besides the one named are included in the entry, perhaps as sharing the same house.

Line 9. αδε : i.e. ἀδελφός, as frequently in this document and in Pap. cxix.

Line 14. τ : according to Wilcken (*Fahrb. d. Ver. v. Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande*, lxxxvi. p. 237), this sign properly indicates simply πυροῦ, though it is frequently used to represent πυροῦ ἀπράβη, as here.

Line 15. The numbers opposite this and the three following lines in the first column, as the papyrus is at present mounted, do not appear to belong here, the fragment on which they are written being of a different colour from that of the rest of the column. They have accordingly not been transcribed.

Line 16. Ηρων : the same name recurs in ll. 28, 65, 75.

Line 25. ι : cf. note on Pap. cxix. l. 9.

Line 26. This line has been inserted as an afterthought.



(Frag. 2.)

|    | .. ειζ  | Ο αβ                                             |                  |        |    |
|----|---------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------|----|
|    | ριη χς  | Παμ . . . Πετοσιριος                             | ⲉ ιο°            | σλε χς |    |
|    | ιθ χς   | Θ[ο]τεως Κολλουθου [κ]αι Ψενσενμ' αδ             | ⲉ α κο°          | ςς χς  |    |
| 35 | πα χς   | Τακοιβιος Θετεως                                 | ⲉ γ 4            | ξ χς   |    |
|    | ρκς 7   | Πο . . . οαως Θεων° Ϝ Εκφιβι° Ποστ . .           | ⲉ ζ              | λθ χς  |    |
|    | συ 7    | Πεωχ° Ψεωχωνιος                                  | [ⲉ] ι[ο]°        | ξα χς  |    |
|    | . ε χς  | Τεκως Πεκυιος                                    | . .              |        |    |
|    | . δ χς  | Φαηριο[ς] Φθοσνεως και αδε—                      | . .              |        |    |
| 40 | σνα χς  | Εσουηριος Πετεχων                                | ⲉ ς              | ιβ χς  |    |
|    | σοη χς  | Παταμνης Φθοσνεως αρι°                           | ⲉ β κ̄ο          | σςγ χς |    |
|    | σνς χς  | Φαπης Πετοσιριος                                 | ⲉ ο'             | σςγ χς |    |
|    | ξβ χς   | Σωπν . . ς Νεφερπρηθως                           | ⲉ γ 4            | κς χς  |    |
|    | οα χς   | Σωφθουμινις Πετεαρμαιος                          | ⲉ κο°            | ξη χς  |    |
| 45 | ρξα 7   | Ψεναμουνις Φαφιος Ϝ Φαφι° αδε—                   | ⲛ ⲉ ιο° ⲉ κο°    | ξ χς   |    |
|    | ο χς    | Σωαντεις Ψεωχ° Ϝ Ψεωχ° υι°                       | ⲉ ς κο°          | σςθ χς |    |
|    | σλε χς  | Φθοσνεως Χεμπτενεκως                             | ⲉ α              | σπθ χς |    |
|    |         |                                                  | ⲉ θ ιο°          |        |    |
|    | μγ χς   | Πετεχω . . . ρμακος                              | ⲉ 4'             |        |    |
|    | ρςβ χς  | Ωρος Ν . . ωρω Ψεωχ°                             | ⲉ . .            | σςη χς | π  |
| 50 | ρςβ χς  | Αμου[ω]σις Πετεχωντ°                             | ⲉ d              | τ χς   | φι |
|    | σπς χς  | Ψεωχωνσις Χεσφαθιτος αρι°                        | ⲉ α ς            |        |    |
|    | . πς χς | Σωμουθης Χεσφαθιτ° αρι°                          | ⲉ β ο'           |        |    |
|    | α χς    | Ασκληιας η <sup>ω</sup> κ' π <sup>ς</sup> Θεωνος | ⲉ ϩ              |        |    |
|    | ξγ χς   | Ισα                                              | ⲉ ιο°            |        |    |
| 55 | ριη χς  | Θαπης Χονομπρησως                                | ⲉ ς              |        |    |
|    | ρμε χς  | Σεωχωνσις Σωτηρος Ϝ Σωπατωρ                      | ⲛ ⲉ γ ιο ⲉ d κ̄ο |        |    |
|    | πβ χς   | Ταμως Παουτος                                    | ⲉ 4'             |        |    |
|    | ρπς χς  | Καμητις Κοτταρου                                 | ⲉ α              |        |    |
|    | νη χς   | Σωμουθης Χεσφαθιτ° Ϝ σεν <sup>κ</sup> φαπι'      | ⲉ ιο°            |        |    |
| 60 |         | ⲉ κβγκ̄ο                                         |                  |        |    |

Line 34. κο°: this is the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and stands for κδ, but the δ is represented by a sort of ο, open at the top, and not unlike an ω.

Line 36. Ϝ: this sign seems to stand for και; cf. ll. 45, 46, 65, *etc.*

Line 42. ο': this is the symbol for  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Line 44. κο°: the symbol here and in the two following lines

is written in a very cursive fashion.

Line 47. The entry in the margin, just below this line, ⲉ θ ιο°, appears to belong to the succeeding column.

Line 53. κ' π<sup>ς</sup>: apparently = και παίδες.

Line 60. The total of the items preserved is 20 arouras. The remaining 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  must be supplied from the missing items in ll. 38, 39, 49.

(Frag. 3.)

|    |                                         |              |
|----|-----------------------------------------|--------------|
|    | Ο αγ                                    |              |
|    | ... ας Απολλοδώρου                      | ...          |
|    | ... Φθουμινιος                          | ...          |
|    | ... φθωι' Ϛ                             | ...          |
| 65 | [Ηρων ο] και Αντινοος πανυσθιος         | Λ Ϛ ...      |
|    | ... Φθουσνεως                           | ...          |
|    | ... υνις Πετε ...                       | ...          |
|    | ... Πανατος                             | Ϛ ...        |
|    | ... πατος και Πετεως αδε—               | Ϛ ...        |
| 70 | ... Πανατος                             | Ϛ ...        |
|    | ... Πωχωντος                            | Ϛ δ          |
|    | ... Ωρου Ακωτ°                          | Ϛ Ϙ          |
|    | ... Ψεναμουνιος                         | Ϛ ιο         |
|    | ... Κεφαλωνος                           | Ϛ ι̅ ι̅ο μ̅η |
| 75 | [Ηρων ο] και Αντινοος πανυσθι°          | Ϛ β̅ ι̅ο     |
|    | ... νβ γ̅ ξ̅ ε d . . Ϙ κβ γ̅ κ̅ο θ̅ ι̅ο | / Ϛ υ . .    |
|    | ... Φθουμινιος                          | Ϛ ιο'        |
|    | ... ρακωπος                             | Ϛ γ̅         |

(Frag. 4, col. 1.)

|    |                                               |   |   |   |   |             |
|----|-----------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------|
|    | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ ̅         |
| 80 | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ γ̅ κ̅ο    |
|    | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ ̅         |
|    | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ ιο°       |
|    | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ β̅ Ϙ      |
|    | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ α̅ ι̅ο    |
| 85 | .                                             | . | . | . | . | Ϛ μβ        |
|    | .. Ϙ̅ Οκρ .. ριος αδ ..                       |   |   |   |   | Ϛ ιζ Ϛ μ̅η° |
|    | ̅ ρα̅ Ϙ̅ Φαν . . . . ο και Φι . . . . . φανι° |   |   |   |   | Ϛ β         |
|    | ̅ σκη̅ Ϙ̅ Ωρος α                              |   |   |   |   | Ϛ α γ̅ ι̅ο  |
|    | ̅ σιδ̅ Ϙ̅ Εωχως Εωχου . . . . . ς             |   |   |   |   | Ϛ ι̅ Ϙ̅     |
| 90 | ̅ ε̅ Ϙ̅ Σενοσιριος Καμ . . .                  |   |   |   |   | Ϛ γ̅        |
|    | ̅ ρ̅ Ϙ̅ Ερμο . . . . ς Πιτεα . . . .          |   |   |   |   | Ϛ λα        |

Line 61. It is probable that this fragment follows immediately after that just given, and that the numbers on the right of the latter belong to this column. The number and arrangement of lines correspond, though the texture of the papyrus does not.

Line 63. Φθουμινιος: the name recurs in l. 77.

Line 64. This line has been inserted later.

Line 66. All except the first two letters is largely conjectural, the letters being scarcely formed.

Line 67. A couple of lines have been obliterated after this.

|     |                                                  |                                                                         |                   |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
|     | $\overline{\sigma\kappa\beta}$ $\chi\zeta$       | Αμμ[ωνιο]ς Αμμ . . . . .                                                | ⲉ αλ              |
|     | $\overline{\rho\nu\theta}$ $\chi\zeta$           | Αμεινω[φ]ις Πετε . . . . . σκεκα <sup>ο</sup>                           |                   |
|     |                                                  | Θεοτ . ς Ϝ Λεαθ <sup>ο</sup> . . . . . αι <sup>ο</sup>                  | ⲉ δλ              |
| 95  | $\overline{\iota\beta}$ $\chi\zeta$              | Ερμოდωρος Πε . . . . . Φα . . . . .                                     | ⲉ σιη             |
|     | ( $\overline{\lambda\gamma}$ $\chi\zeta$ )       | Ναντι . . . . . Πι . . . . .                                            | ⲉ ρλ)             |
|     |                                                  | <sup>εξης απ</sup> . . . . . Σκουτηριος                                 | ⲉ ια              |
|     | $\overline{\rho\xi\theta}$ $\chi\zeta$           | Γερμ . . . . .                                                          | ⲉ θ               |
|     | $\overline{\varsigma}$ . . . . .                 |                                                                         | ⲉ β 4             |
| 100 |                                                  |                                                                         | ⲉ 5 κo            |
|     |                                                  |                                                                         | ⲉ 5               |
|     | (Frag. 4, col. 2.)                               |                                                                         |                   |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\kappa\delta}$ $\chi\zeta$      | Παπισθης Γ . . . . .                                                    | . .               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\xi}$ $\chi\zeta$                 | Ψεω . . Ηχ . . .                                                        | . .               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\kappa\beta}$ $\tau$              | Πετεμεως Ηρακλειδου                                                     | . .               |
| 105 | $\overline{\rho\alpha}$ $\chi\zeta$              | Ψενχανσις Αμώνος                                                        | ⲉ ι .             |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\iota\delta}$ $\chi\zeta$       | Γαμωθης Γαμωθου                                                         | ⲉ βλ              |
|     | $\overline{\rho\alpha}$ $\chi\zeta$              | Ψεωαμουνις Ωρου                                                         | ⲉ d κo            |
|     | $\overline{\xi\beta}$ $\chi\zeta$                | Σωποριμθης Πετενοβτου . . ς                                             | ⲉ 5               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\kappa\gamma}$ $\tau$             | Κληρ <sup>ο</sup> Γαμωθου . υγκιος                                      | ⲉ ιo <sup>ο</sup> |
| 110 | $\overline{\rho\theta}$ $\tau$                   | Αμμωνιος Θεωνος                                                         | ⲉ β 4             |
|     | $\overline{\rho\iota\zeta}$ $\chi\zeta$          | Ισιδωρος Αβωτος                                                         | ⲉ α γ ιo          |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\nu\varsigma}$ $\chi\zeta$      | Ψε[ν]αμ[ου]νις Γαμωθου Πραξιου                                          | ⲉ ι               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\pi\epsilon}$ $\chi\zeta$         | Ποριενθις Παπεουτος                                                     | ⲉ κo              |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\theta}$ $\chi\zeta$            | Πονεωπτις Πετεχεωχρ <sup>ο</sup>                                        | . .               |
| 115 | $\overline{\rho\varsigma\alpha}$ $\chi\zeta$     | Εριοφμοις Γωφιος                                                        | .                 |
|     | $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ $\chi\zeta$          | Ψενεννηριος Φιλαμμωνος                                                  | . .               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\delta}$ $\tau$                   | Αιλουριων ν Ασκλητ <sup>ο</sup> Ϝ Εριεως Κ[ρ]ουρι . .                   | . .               |
|     | $\overline{\rho\pi\beta}$ $\chi\zeta$            | Πετεαροτηριος Τιεχθεν . . . . .                                         | . .               |
|     | $\overline{\lambda\delta}$ $\chi\zeta$           | Οννωφρις Δηματ <sup>ο</sup> Ϝ Φαπι <sup>ο</sup> ν νι <sup>ο</sup>       | . .               |
| 120 | $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ $\chi\zeta$            | Ισιδωρ <sup>ο</sup> Α . . . ι <sup>ο</sup> κληρ <sup>ο</sup> δ κληθ . . |                   |
|     |                                                  | αδē . . . . Ϝ Αμ . . . Ωρου                                             | ⲉ θ               |
|     | $\overline{\lambda\varsigma}$ $\chi\zeta$        | Πασημις ̄ μητρ <sup>ο</sup> Ταφαω Βηχιος                                | Ⲙ ⲉ . . .         |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\omicron\varsigma}$ $\chi\zeta$ | ο ā αρι <sup>ο</sup>                                                    |                   |

Line 96. The brackets indicate that this line is to be cancelled, and a note (now mutilated) in different ink below it showed to what part of the account it was to be transferred.

Line 117. ν: presumably = νεώτερος; cf. ll. 119, 124.

Line 123. This line has been inserted later, but in the same hand. The symbol is presumably for  $\delta$  αὐτός, but its exact nature is doubtful.

|     |                                    |                            |                                                                             |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     | $\overline{\rho\delta}$            | $\overline{\tau}$          | Αιλουριων $\bar{\nu}$ Ασκ[λ]ετος $\mathfrak{J}$ Εριεως Κρουρι . . .         |
| 125 | $\overline{\varsigma\epsilon}$     | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Φθουμι <sup>ς</sup> Φαυριο[ς] $\mathfrak{J}$ Φ]αυρι <sup>ο</sup> νιου . . . |
|     | $\overline{\dots}$                 | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Ερια Χεμτενεος $\mathfrak{J}$ Σωυριο . . .                                  |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\lambda\eta}$     | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Ψενσενμουθης Πιαμθου . . .                                                  |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\lambda\epsilon}$ | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Ποριε . . . Φατρηγος ακ . . .                                               |

ⲉ κζ d κο<sup>ς</sup>

(Frag. 5.)

|     |                              |                            |                                |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 130 | $\overline{\xi\varsigma}$    | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Σωπ . . .                      |
|     | $\overline{\xi\epsilon}$     | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | . . . . .                      |
|     | $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$   | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Λατταβοως Θα . .               |
|     | $\overline{\xi\eta}$         | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Σωφακως Γαμωθ <sup>ο</sup>     |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\mu\gamma}$ | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Γαμωθης Γαμωθου παν . . .      |
| 135 | $\overline{\nu\gamma}$       | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Σωφιλαμμ <sup>ι</sup> Ψε . . . |
|     | $\overline{\dots}$           | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Σωαμουν . . .                  |

(Frag. 6.)

|     |                               |                            |                                                                                           |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . ιος Ιμουθου σνιο . .                                                            |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . Αμμωνιου                                                                        |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . ης Τεωμινιος                                                                    |
| 140 |                               |                            | . . . . . θηα αρι <sup>ο</sup> ⲉ . . .                                                    |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . απεβθιος Φθοσνεως                                                               |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . τεκωι <sup>ο</sup> Πεκνι <sup>ο</sup> $\mathfrak{J}$ Φθει <sup>ο</sup> Σωφα . . |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . Πεκωσιος Πεκνσιος $\mathfrak{J}$ σνι <sup>ω</sup> . .                           |
|     |                               |                            | . . . . . [Α]ρσησιος Εσπταιτας και αδε                                                    |
| 145 |                               |                            | . . . . . απις Χοπομπωιαως                                                                |
|     | $\overline{\rho\pi\alpha}$    | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Κρονιος Πετεχωντος                                                                        |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\iota\beta}$ | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Γαιος Ιουλιος Κρησκωτ <sup>ι</sup> . .                                                    |
|     |                               |                            | Πεμχω Γαμωθου και                                                                         |
|     | $\overline{\sigma\iota\beta}$ | $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ | Δεκλιος ο και Γαῶα κω . . .                                                               |

Several more small fragments of this document are preserved, but, as may be seen from the facsimile plates, they contain nothing but isolated numbers and mutilated names. Under these circumstances it has not been thought worth while to transcribe them.

Line 138. This line, together with l. 140, has been inserted later. through them.

Line 142. The last two words have had a line drawn through them. Line 144. και αδε : these words have been cancelled.



## PAPYRUS XCIX.—4th cent.

THIS document belongs to the class of accounts, but is in too fragmentary a state for it to be possible to ascertain their character. The phrases which recur most frequently, in immediate proximity to one another, are *κανόνος* and the abbreviation *προσθ* (for *πρόσθεμα*); the former apparently indicating a normal and regular charge, the latter a special addition to it. At the foot of the first two columns is some writing in a much larger hand. The symbol  $\mathfrak{z}$  preceding the sums of money probably stands for *κεράτια*, a parallel use being quoted by Karabacek in his paper on the Fayûm papyri in *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. Wiens*, pt. 33, p. 218. It is noticeable that on the reverse, where the contents of column 4 are repeated in a large hand, identical with that which has made the additions to columns 1 and 2, this sign is replaced by another, viz.,  $\bar{\text{L}}$ , which presumably has the same force, but is not known to be used elsewhere in such a signification. At the same time it is possible that these are variations of the symbols denoting "drachma." In that case some of the fractions would have to be read differently; but in a handwriting so irregularly formed as most of this, there would be little difficulty on that account. And it must be admitted that it is not usual to find large sums calculated by *κεράτια*.

The papyrus is in a very fragmentary state. The largest portion, containing four columns more or less mutilated, measures 2 feet 1 inch by 11 inches. There is also a detached piece, containing part of another column, measuring 6 inches (in the widest part) by 9½. The writing (except in the additions above mentioned) is small and very cursive, and sometimes rather faint; consequently many of the readings are doubtful. As regards the date, if the reckoning is really by *νομίσματα* (cf. l. 25) and *κεράτια*, it cannot be earlier than the 4th century; and the palæographical appearances are not inconsistent with this date.

(Col. 1.)

|    |                     |      |
|----|---------------------|------|
|    | η υμ . . . . .      |      |
|    | απτ Ηρα ουρανιου    | ..   |
|    | σωφθεως    πρ       | μδ   |
|    | . . . ιτου    προσθ | ..   |
| 5  | κανονος—            | ..   |
|    | . . . ωας κανονος—  | ..   |
|    | προσθ—              | ..   |
|    | . . . αθον κανονος— | .. κ |
|    | προσθ—              | ..   |
| 10 | . . . συνως καν     | ..   |

Line 2. *απτ* : or *απλ*. The meaning of this abbreviation, which recurs in ll. 18, 24, 36, 48, 67, 84, is obscure.

Line 6. . . *ωας* : so in l. 22, which appears to be a copy of this; the reading here is doubtful.

|    |                                |        |
|----|--------------------------------|--------|
|    | προσθ—                         | ..     |
|    | . . . ως φαεινον               | ..     |
|    | . . . . . τοδωρος              | ..     |
|    | . . . ευ . ωιμων               | ϑ .. θ |
| 15 | . . . ουτως—                   | ..     |
|    | κανονος—                       | ϑ ..   |
|    | προσθ—                         | ϑ ..   |
|    | [α]π <sup>ρ</sup> Ηρα ουρανιου | ..     |
|    | [σ]ωφθewς πρ <sup>ρ</sup>      | L μδ   |
| 20 | . . [ιτ]ου προσθ <sup>ρ</sup>  | L ων   |
|    | [κ]ανονος                      | L βγ2  |
|    | . . . ωας κανονος              | L ιγ   |
|    | προσθ <sup>ρ</sup>             | L ..   |

(Col. 2.)

|    |                                        |                  |
|----|----------------------------------------|------------------|
|    | απτ Ζ[ωιλου Ισιδ]ωρου                  |                  |
| 25 | πτολεμαβιης— προσθ—                    | ν <sup>ο</sup> γ |
|    | κερκεφθα— προσθ—                       | ϑ·δ              |
|    | κανονος—                               | ϑδδ              |
|    | ελπαθερθε                              |                  |
|    | χωματος— προσθ—                        | ϑνβ              |
| 30 | κανονος—                               | ϑ μ              |
|    | κτησεως                                | ϑ . α . .        |
|    | . . ϑ <sup>ο</sup>                     | ..               |
|    | . . ουτως—                             |                  |
|    | κανονος—                               | ϑ                |
| 35 | προσθ—                                 | ϑ                |
|    | απτ αυτου και Φλαουιου και Ιωαννου . . |                  |
|    | σιμυρων κανονος—                       | ϑ . .            |
|    | προσθ—                                 | ϑ π . .          |
|    | βουτου κανονος—                        | ϑ . . . .        |
| 40 | προσθ—                                 | ϑ θ              |

Line 18. The remaining lines of this column are a repetition, in a larger and less educated hand, of the first lines of the column; cf. introductory note. The notation of figures differs somewhat from that of the rest of the document.

Line 20. ων: the figures are confused, being written over others which had been previously entered in error. The reading is therefore doubtful, but appears to be ων written over the figures which are repeated in the next line.

Line 21. βγ2: the second figure is doubtful, but probably stands, in the rough and irregular writing of this portion of the papyrus, for the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The third figure is one which is found elsewhere for the τεταρτημόριον or quarter-obol, and was probably transferred, under the later notation by νομίσματα and κεράτια, to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a κεράτιον. The whole sum will therefore be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  κεράτια.

Line 25. ν<sup>ο</sup>γ: i.e. νομίσματα τρία. νόμισμα is the regular name of the aureus or solidus, the standard coin of the later empire, containing 24 κεράτια.

Line 27. The symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$  here resembles the Greek δ rather than (as in Pap. cxix.) the English d.

Line 29. √: the usual symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Line 31. κτησεως: the original word appears to be longer than this, but the termination is written in a very cursive style.

Line 32. The imperfect state of the papyrus, particularly in the matter of figures, makes it impossible to tell what the abbreviation in this line represents. It appears to end with θ, followed by a straight line over a circle.

Line 36. Φλαουιου: the name recurs in l. 83, which confirms the otherwise doubtful reading here.

. . ζ  $\overline{\circ}$   
 ουτως——  
 κανονος—— ζ  
 προσθ—— ζ  
 45 Ζωιλου Ισιδα[ρον]  
 Πτολεμας . . .  
 Κερκεπ . . .

## (Col. 3.)

50 απτ . . . . . ..  
 πτω . . . . . ..  
 ψ . φρη κανονος—— ζ σξγ . ζβ  
 προσθ—— ζ ροβ  
 ν . . . . . ζ προσθ—— ζ μη  
 ν . . λτοαχρεως πρ ζ θ  
 κανον[ος——] ζ ογ  
 55 φωκεως κανονος—— ζ θ ιγ υ  
 προσθ—— ζ ξς ς  
 ζ ξς ς  
 Καπριωνος πρ ζ β γ  $\overline{\omega}$   
 Κτησωσιου πρ ζ ζ κο  
 60 . . ζ  $\overline{\circ}$  ζ ια γ  
 . . . . .  
 πρ  
 κανονος—— ..  
 προσθ—— ..  
 65 κ . . ..  
 λοιπαι ..  
 απτ Ιερακως κτ . . . ..  
 ψυ . . . . . ..

## (Col. 4.)

70 φανθους—— προσθ—— ζ ιο  
 κανονος—— ζ σοδ 5'  
 θιμνα—— προσθ—— ζ ια  
 κτησεως του πατρ προσθ—— ζ ιη

Line 48. This column has been broken down the middle, and not accurately re-joined. Indeed, one cannot be certain that the two portions really belong to one another, the colour of the papyrus being different in the two.

Line 51. ροβ: the β is perhaps meant to be cancelled.

Line 52. μη: corrected from να.

Line 54. ογ: corrected from πα.

Line 55. The whole number appears to have been erased, and the final figures are doubtful.

Line 56. ξς ς: corrected from ιβ.

Line 57. ξς ς: corrected from οα.

Line 59. ζ κο: the fraction is very doubtful.

Line 72. The last symbol is probably intended to be that for  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; but, if so, it is rather irregularly made.

|    |                           |         |
|----|---------------------------|---------|
|    | κανονος                   | ...     |
|    | κτησεως Ηρακλιδου κανονος | § πβ d  |
| 75 | απελευναμου               | § πβd   |
|    | προσθ                     | § ιξ γ' |
|    | τααχθω προσθ—             | § ν     |
|    | κανονος—                  | § πβ    |
|    | .. § —                    |         |
| 80 | ουτως                     |         |
|    | κανονος                   | §       |
|    | προσθ                     | §       |
|    | απελ . . . . .            | § λθ    |
|    | απτ Φλαουιου              |         |
| 85 | παντασω                   | § ξ     |
|    | . εραχεως                 | § ιβ    |
|    | . . . . .                 | §       |

(Col. 5.)

|     |                          |        |
|-----|--------------------------|--------|
|     | . . ονηιος . . . .       | ..     |
|     | Διδυμων . . . .          | ..     |
| 90  | Ευλογιος Διοσ . . . .    | ..     |
|     | Ερμαβιων Ασκληα . .      | ..     |
|     | Ηρακλιδης και Ψο . . s   | ..     |
|     | Ηρακλιδης Ισιδωρου       | ..     |
|     | Θεων αποτθ               | ..     |
| 95  | Ισχυρας Αφροδισιου       | ..     |
|     | Ιεραξ Εντρνγιο           | ..     |
|     | Μακαριος Ασκληαν         | ..     |
|     | Ο.. εριος αχ'            | ..     |
|     | Συνηγγοριος Γερ . . .    | ..     |
| 100 | Ιερακλ Πεταλων           | ..     |
|     | Αθηνοδωρος               | § λδ   |
|     | Αμμων[ιος]               | ..     |
|     | . . . μενvs Ευσεβιου     |        |
|     | Κτη . . . ων Ν . . . μου | .      |
| 105 | Ισιου Απιων Απολλωνος    | § κη   |
|     | ουσια περικωιου          | § α γ' |

Line 75. This line has been inserted later. The reading is very doubtful.

Line 78. πβ: corrected from some other figure, apparently μλ. Cf. l. 113.



## Verso.

|     |                    |          |
|-----|--------------------|----------|
|     | φαντους προσθ      | ̄ ι      |
|     | κανονος            | ̄ ωοδ 5' |
|     | θιβνα προσθ        | ̄ ια     |
| 110 | . . . προσθ        |          |
|     | κτησεως του πατρος | ̄ ιη     |
|     | τααχθω προσθ       | ̄ ν      |
|     | κανονος            | ̄ μ      |
|     | ουτως              |          |
| 115 | κανονος            | ̄        |
|     | προσθ              | ̄        |
|     | Φλαουιου πολιτ     |          |
|     | πε . . . προσθ     | ̄ ξ      |
|     | πε . . . κανονος   | ̄ ιβ     |
| 120 | . . . . .          | ̄ ρν . . |
|     | προσθ              | ̄ ρον 12 |

Line 107. As pointed out in the introductory note, this is a repetition of col. 4, in the same rough, uneducated hand as the additions at the bottom of cols. 1 and 2. It is written on the reverse of the part of the papyrus which contains col. 4. There is also writing on the reverse of col. 5, but little remains except a column of figures, which are not transcribed.

Line 108. ωοδ 5' : in col. 4 the reading is unquestionably σοδ 5'.

Line 109. θιβνα : a difference in pronunciation, implying a difference of education, between the scribe of the larger hand and the writer of the rest of the document, is shown in the variations φαντους, θιβνα, for φανθους, θιμνα.

## ACCOUNTS.—(b) PRIVATE.

## PAPYRUS XXV. [FORSHALL XXI.].—B.C. 162-0.

THIS and the two following papyri contain scraps of accounts dating from the 2nd century before Christ—contemporary, therefore, with the Serapeum documents, and perhaps coming from the same source. The 20th and 21st years mentioned may probably be those of Philometor, *i.e.* B.C. 162-1 and 161-0. A large number of similar records exist among the Paris papyri, and are published by M. Brunet de Presle (*Notices et Extraits*). The papyrus measures  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , and has writing on both sides in the same hand, in a very black ink.

Λ κα μεχειρ δ  
 δεδωκα Πετεσωχιος  
 † â Πατορσω † υλ  
 Ορβηκ † φ

Line 1. κα : or κδ ; but as the reverse has κα, that is the more probable reading.

Line 3. † â : *i.e.* 1000 drachmas.

Verso.

5 L κ μεσορη ε̄ Πετε  
 νητι † χ L κα  
 φωφι β † αχ  
 μεχειρ ιη̄ † χ  
 / ηως μεχειρ ιη̄ † βω

Line 5. Πετενητι: the fourth letter may be an ο, but the ε is confirmed by Pap. xxix. 11.

requires χ.

Line 8. The last figure might be a κ, but the arithmetic

Line 9. At a little distance below this line a large α is written, but with no apparent meaning.

## PAPYRUS XXIX. [FORSHALL XXII.].—B.C. 160.

THESE accounts are apparently in the same hand as the preceding ones (Pap. XXV.), and the same name (Πετενητι) occurs in both, as well as the same year, viz., the 21st (probably of Philometor, i.e. B.C. 161–0). M. Revillout has twice printed the account on the *recto* (*Rev. Egypt.* iii. 80, iv. 55), the second time less correctly than the first, since he gives οθονιον in l. 2 for οθονιον. The papyrus measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and has writing on both sides.

τουτων λογος Ασγης  
 Τοθητος οθονιον τιμην  
 † β̄ Φαθρητι συνδονα † β̄ρ  
 Γ † δρ̄ αργυριου † η  
 5 / Λ τ

Απολλωνιωι † βσ

Verso.

L κα μεχειρ ιβ̄  
 απεχω παρα τω  
 Σαραπει † δ̄ Ωρον † δ̄  
 10 Αφροδεισιωι † β̄

Line 5. Λ: the usual sign for "talent." τ: F. reads γ, but the letter is clearly τ, standing, not for 300 talents, but, as M. Revillout suggests (*Revue Egypt.* iii. 80), for 1 talent and 300 drachmas. The account presents some difficulty. The total in l. 4 gives 4,100 dr., and on no calculation of the relation of silver to copper could 8 dr. of silver be equivalent to the 2,200 dr. required to make up the total of 1 tal. 300 dr. On the other hand, the entry in l. 6 gives exactly the required sum of 2,200 dr.; and M. Revillout suggests that the latter is an item which should have been inserted above, but was omitted

by accident; the 8 dr. of silver being omitted from the account altogether, as appears also to be the case in Pap. lix. of the Louvre. Another suggestion is made by M. Revillout (*Rev. Egypt.* iv. 55), that the 2,200 dr. represent a remainder due to Apollonius (whom he takes to be the Apollonius of the Serapeum series of papyri, brother of Ptolemy), after deducting 4,100 dr. accounted for as expended from a total of 1 tal. 300 dr.; and this is perhaps more probable.

Line 8. τω: F. τωι, but there are no signs of the ι.

φαωφι ε̄ Πετευηττι  
 † β̄[σ] μεχειρ ιη̄ † χ  
 Γ † β̄ω

Inverting the papyrus, there are the words, in a different hand and fainter ink—

θωνθ κζ̄  
 15 Ωρος † ος

Line 11. This account is separated from that which precedes by a space of two inches.

Line 12. The letter following β̄ is lost in a blot, but σ is required by the arithmetic.

# PAPYRUS XXX. [FORSHALL XX.].—2nd cent. B.C.

THIS papyrus contains an account, dating apparently from the Ptolemaic period, of payments due for corn and water, especially the latter. For the corn a total of 1000 drachmas is given, of which the receipt of 800 drachmas is acknowledged. For the water a detailed account is given, extending from the 16th of Pauni to the 26th of Epiph, and amounting to 315 drachmas, of which payments of 200 drachmas and 50 drachmas are acknowledged. The water account is, however, given not in drachmas (except in the totals), but in a value denoted by the letter κ, which represents something worth 5 drachmas. This may perhaps stand for *κεράμιον*, which we find used as a measure of liquid capacity in the demotic papyri. It was equivalent to half a *μετρητής*, *i.e.* about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  gallons; and as a *κεράμιον* of oil appears to have been valued at 6 silver drachmas (Revillout, *Rev. Egypt.* iii. 89), it is possible that a similar quantity of water may have fetched 5 copper drachmas. The only other word which suggests itself is *κοτύλη*, but that would imply a famine allowance of water per diem. In other respects the account is perfectly plain.

The papyrus is a rather irregular fragment, measuring about 8 inches by  $4\frac{1}{4}$ . The account is contained on one side of it, but there are a few illegible letters on the other.

Πολεμωνος λογος [α]πεχ[ω]  
 σιτου τιμη † ᾱ τουτ[ων]  
 απεχω † ω ∟ † σ του υδατος  
 λογος παυνι

Line 3. ∟: this sign denotes "remainder."

|    |             |                                |                          |
|----|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5  | ις κ-β      | κθ κ-α                         | ις β                     |
|    | ιζ κ-β      | κ λ β                          | ιζ β                     |
|    | [ι]η κ-β    | Γ κ-ιη<br>Γ ρ 9                | ιη γ                     |
|    |             | επειφ $\bar{a}$ κ-α            |                          |
|    | [κ]α κ-α    | β κ-β                          | ιθ β                     |
| 10 | [κ]β κ-β    | γ κ-α                          | κ β                      |
|    | [κ]δ κ-α    | δ κ-β                          | ηως επειφ                |
|    | κε κ-α      | ε κ-β                          | $\bar{\kappa}$ νδωρ κ-νδ |
|    | κς κ-α      | ς κ-β                          | Γ ρ σ0                   |
|    | κζ κ-β      | ζ κ-β                          | κα β                     |
| 15 | κη κ-α      | ηως<br>επειφ η<br>κ-λ<br>Γ ρ λ | κβ α                     |
|    |             |                                | κγ α                     |
|    |             |                                | κδ [α]                   |
|    |             | θ α ιγ κ-β                     |                          |
|    |             | ι β ιδ κ-β                     | κε β                     |
| 20 | ια β ιε κ-β |                                | κς β                     |
|    | ιβ β ι      |                                | Γ ηως επειφ κς           |
|    |             |                                | κ-ξγ ρ τιε               |

ΤΟΥΤΩΝ

25      απεχει ρ σ      ριε  
         απεχει ρ ν      ρ ξε

Line 6. In col. 2, κ λ β is clearly a slip for λ (the date) κ-β.

Line 7. 9 : the symbol for 90.

Line 9. κα : apparently corrected from ιθ.

Line 15. There are faint traces of other writing in the second

column, but they cannot belong to this account.

Line 17. ρλ : a slip for ρν.

Line 18. The α is written over an erasure, β having been written first.



PAPYRUS CXXXI. *recto*.—78–79 A.D.

THIS papyrus is invaluable, by reason of its containing on its *verso* the unique text of the long-lost 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle. That text has been published elsewhere, and does not come within the scope of the present Catalogue; but the document contained on the *recto* of the papyrus has considerable interest of its own, and is akin to others given in this volume. It consists of the farm accounts of a bailiff, named Didymus son of Aspasius, prepared for his employer, Epimachus son of Polydeuces, who owned an estate in the nome of Hermopolis in the 10th and 11th years of the reign of Vespasian (78–79 A.D.). It is valuable and interesting upon many grounds. In the first place it clears up some difficulties as to the text of the Aristotle, enabling us to judge of the extent of the mutilated portions of that work,—a point which has been dealt with mainly in the published edition of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία. Secondly, it has a considerable palæographical value, as is explained below. Thirdly, it presents an interesting outline of the process of work on an Egyptian farm in the first century, and raises incidentally some important economical questions.

The accounts are arranged according to months. At the beginning of each month the heading is repeated, which gives the date of the year and the name of the bailiff Didymus. Then comes a column of receipts for the month, which arise partly from the sale of produce and partly from advances by Epimachus for current expenses. The statement of expenditure follows, which extends over a much wider space, occupying generally some seven or eight columns. At the foot of each column is given the total of the items contained in it, and at the end of the month the whole expenditure and receipts for the month are summarised, and the balance or deficit stated with which the new month begins. It is from the records of expenditure that we gather the course of agricultural operations through the successive months. The accounts (apart from a detached fragment, spoken of below) begin with the month Thouth, the first of the Egyptian year, roughly corresponding to our September. At this time the inundation of the Nile would be out, and an important part of the duties of the labourers was to attend to the dykes which regulated its extent. These had to be watched, strengthened, and repaired, and occasionally a breach in them had to be made good. Meanwhile there was a certain amount of artificial irrigation still to be done; and a good deal of labour on the part of men, asses, and boys to follow the latter, was bestowed on the process of carting manure. Weeding and rush-picking are the other occupations which are mentioned during this month. In Phaophi (October) the care of the dykes becomes less important as the inundations fall, and artificial irrigation is more required. The breaking up of clods by means of men and oxen indicates that the ground is being prepared for sowing; a labour which is occasionally lightened by free distributions of beer. The history of the farm is broken off here by a hiatus in the record, which includes the last week of Phaophi and the first half of Athur (November), in which month the sowing of the crops took place. This was followed by the watering, manuring, and weeding, which appear to have been the chief occupations on the farm in the latter part of the month. At the beginning of Choiach an illness befell the bailiff

Didymus, which incapacitated him for work during the next month and a half. During that time his master, Epimachus, himself undertook the management of the estate, and kept his accounts separately, which have not come down to us. This causes another hiatus in our chronicle of the farm, extending to the middle of the month Tubi (January). Here we are introduced to a new branch of industry by the frequent mention of the employment of vine-dressers. This was evidently the principal occupation for this month; but other workmen were employed in cutting down and stripping palm-branches, and in sweeping up the fallen leaves. Towards the end of the month it becomes necessary to attend to the springing crop of early barley, which requires watering and manuring, the former daily. The first few days of Mecheir are occupied by the same operations, the irrigation, in particular, appearing to be the most pressing business on hand; but here, again, a hiatus in the papyrus suspends the record of events until nearly the end of Pharmouthi (April). This is the month of harvest; and, collaterally with the harvest, the process of threshing is going on, for which it is necessary to hire oxen. These occupations are naturally sufficient to absorb the whole energies of the labourers on the estate, and of the additional men and animals hired for the occasion; and there is little variation in the entries until, about the middle of Pachon (May), the record comes to an abrupt termination, the remainder of the MS. having been lost.

Many details remain to be elucidated in this story of an Egyptian farm. Abbreviations are used almost universally throughout the document, and some of these are difficult to explain. Then there are evidently local names of fields and places, just as would be found in the farm-book of a modern bailiff; and it is sometimes doubtful whether peculiar words which occur in the text are proper names of this description or not, especially as we meet with several expressions not recognised by the lexicons, which are clearly not proper names, but denote either occupations or some form of country produce. These, however, may be cleared up in course of time, and meanwhile the bulk of the record is plain enough. But there is another source of interest in this document which is involved in more obscurity, and this concerns the economical data which it provides. The sums mentioned in the accounts are stated in drachmas and obols; but these are of two classes of currency, silver and copper. The items of receipt are always given in silver, but those of expenditure are sometimes silver and sometimes copper.\* At the end of each month the totals of each currency are stated, and the sums of copper are then reduced to silver, in order to obtain a correct comparison of the receipts and expenditure for the month. Here it is that the difficulty arises. It may be taken as established that, in the time of the Ptolemies, the proportion of value between silver and copper was 1:120 (*cf.* Revillout, *Rev. Egypt.* iii. 79); yet here we find the ratio repeatedly stated as either 24:28 or 24:29; according to which, silver and copper had become nearly identical in value. The explanation is to be found in the enormous depreciation of the silver coinage which took place in Egypt under the Roman Empire, beginning from the reign of Tiberius. In the reign of Claudius Gothicus (268-270 A.D.), the proportion of silver in the so-called "silver" coinage of Alexandria was less than 4 per cent.; and by the time of Diocletian it was less than 2 per cent.

\* The silver items are distinguished in the MS. by a little dot or tick placed against them; in addition, the words ἀργύριον or χαλκόν are sometimes prefixed, but not by any means always.



(Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, p. 723). Before this date, about the time of Severus Alexander (222–235 A.D.), copper coins had ceased to be struck, on account of the practical identity of value between them and the silver coins of the same name (*Ib.* p. 725); indeed the regular issue of copper ceases in the reign of Commodus (Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria*, p. xxix). The present document shows how far the process of deterioration had gone by the end of the reign of Vespasian, and so supplies an important link in the history of the Egyptian coinage.

Another point of interest in the economical data of this document is the value of commodities at this period. In the papyri of the Ptolemaic period we find the value of the artaba of wheat ranging between 250 and 330 drachmas of copper (*cf.* Pap. XXXV. 19 and note); but in the present document it is given in several places at 10 or 11 drachmas of silver (equivalent, however, only to some 12 or 13 drachmas of copper). Similarly an artaba of vegetables (*λάχανον*) costs 20 or 21 drachmas, while the same amount of lentils (*φακός*) for pigeons and other birds fetches only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas. It is not easy to explain this great depreciation of prices, but it seems to indicate a very large restriction of coinage; and it may be noticed that the price of labour keeps pace with it. An ordinary farm labourer gets three or four obols a day—a rate which would bring him in 15 or 20 drachmas a month. We find from the Ptolemaic documents that an artaba of dhoora (which was less valuable than wheat) per month was considered a fair maintenance, so far as food was concerned, for persons in a somewhat higher position than farm labourers, such as soldiers (*cf.* Pap. XXIII. 48), being equivalent to a loaf a day (Pap. XVIII. 27, 28). Accordingly, a rate of pay which brought in about double this amount cannot be held unreasonable, especially in a climate where the cost of clothing would not be very considerable.

The dating of the document presents some points of interest. With the exception of a very fragmentary portion of the papyrus, the date of the whole is in the 11th year of Vespasian. Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria in July, 69 A.D., and, according to the usual Egyptian method of reckoning, his second year would be dated from the 1st of Thouth (August 29th) next succeeding. His eleventh year accordingly would begin in August, 78 A.D., and in the following June he died. The months named run from the first of that year, Thouth, to the ninth, Pachon, which began on April 26th, and the last date visible is the 20th of that month. There is this peculiarity, however, about the names of the months: that in place of Thouth we have the name Σεβαστός (corresponding to the Latin Augustus, but given to the month beginning on August 29th, no doubt because that was the first month of the year, and therefore more honourable), and in the place of Athur the name Νεὸς Σεβαστός, which was presumably given to it in honour of Vespasian, whose birthday fell in it (*cf.* notes on ll. 5 and 350). The fragmentary portion of the papyrus, already alluded to (containing on its *verso* the mutilated ending of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία), belongs to an earlier part of the same document, and bears the accounts for portions of the months Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the 10th year of Vespasian (78 A.D.). This portion of the document is given separately as Pap. CXXXI\*.

Palæographically this date is of considerable importance. Not only does it provide an approximate date for the Aristotle on the *verso*, but it also fixes the chronology of a hand which appears with some variations in several other MSS. This has been referred to

already in the introduction to Pap. CXIX., which, though apparently later than the present MS., cannot now be placed lower than the 2nd century. The hand is of an official cast, which might very probably extend over a long period of time; and that it did so is proved by the evidence of Pap. CXXV. *recto*, which is in the same hand considerably degenerated, and which cannot be earlier than the middle of the 4th century. Papp. XCIX. and CIX. appear to be intermediate between these dates, but cannot be fixed very precisely. In the present MS. some forms appear which have hitherto been hardly known, notably the  $\eta$  written as  $y$  or  $4$ , which is also found in the latter shape in the Aristotle. The other most remarkable form in this MS., which also is found once in the Aristotle, is the abbreviation for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s$ , on which see note on l. 22.

It remains to describe the state of the MS. Originally it appears to have been written on three rolls of papyrus, apart from the separate document of the preceding year, which is mentioned above. Of these, the first alone is nearly complete now. It measures 7 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length (since divided, for convenience of mounting, into two pieces of 4 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches and 3 feet respectively), and includes columns 1 to 11 of the accounts. To the left of the first column is a space of about 11 inches, of which, however, part was evidently attached later in order to contain on the other side a portion of the Aristotle. This bears some remains of a very minute writing. After the eleventh column the papyrus is mutilated, but it is not possible to tell exactly to what extent, as the beginning of the second roll is also lost. It is, however, probable that the greater part of the total loss belongs to the second roll, since the latter is at present very much shorter than the first. The second roll now measures 5 feet 5 inches in length, but apparently about 2 feet have been lost from the beginning of it (see note on l. 261). In its present state it contains columns 12 to 22 of the accounts, but its end, as well as its beginning, is lost. Here, again, it is impossible to determine accurately the extent that is missing from each roll, as the beginning of the third roll is also destroyed. The total lacuna may have amounted to about 6 feet in length; but of this the greater portion may reasonably be supposed to have belonged to the third roll, which at present measures only 3 feet, and contains six columns, of which, however, a large part of one is lost. This third roll, like the others, breaks off incomplete. The general result, therefore, is that the original document consisted of three rolls, measuring each from 7 to 8 feet in length, of which about 15 feet 7 inches in all still remain to us. The height of the papyrus is throughout about 11 inches. The writing is of a good size and clear, in a fine and rather elegant semi-cursive hand, and for the most part it is very legible, though here and there the papyrus has been somewhat rubbed. It is full of abbreviations, which take the form of omitting the last part of a word, and writing the preceding letter above the line. The symbols for "aroura," "artaba,"  $\pi\rho\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}$ , drachma, occur; also those for the various sums of obols, and for "total"; and in addition to these there is the symbol for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s$  alluded to above, and an abbreviation  $\tau'$ , which apparently stands for  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$ , meaning "at the rate of."

(Col. I.)

Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος καισαρος Ονεσπασιανου  
σεβαστου αργυρικος λογος Επιμαχου Πολυδεουκος  
λημματων και ανηλωματων των δι εμου Διδυμο



|                                                                                                                                                  |     |                                                                                                                                                                         |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <p>           Ασπασιον χειριζομενων ων ειναι λημμ<sup>λ</sup> του<br/>           μηνος Σεβαστου         </p>                                     |     |                                                                                                                                                                         |             |
| 5                                                                                                                                                | ᾱ  | εγ λογου λημματος του διεληλυθotos δεκατου L                                                                                                                            | αργ̄ < ξθ ρ |
|                                                                                                                                                  | β̄  | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup> κερματος                                                                                                                     | < δ         |
|                                                                                                                                                  | δ̄  | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup>                                                                                                                       | < δ         |
|                                                                                                                                                  |     | Σααβειν <sup>ο</sup> απο πακη λοιπον τιμ <sup>η</sup> οινου                                                                                                             | < ς         |
| 10                                                                                                                                               | ζ̄  | Φιλιππου οινου, απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> οινου                                                                                                                              | < η         |
|                                                                                                                                                  | η̄  | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> τας ωστε Πανταει Ασανδριων <sup>ο</sup> ως ινα<br>μειν <sup>η</sup> εις το χωμα Ινδ <sup>ο</sup> Ψ β φυλασσο <sup>ο</sup> υστερ <sup>ο</sup> μηκετι | < δ         |
|                                                                                                                                                  |     | K . . . . . ερ . . . . . απ . . . . . εινου                                                                                                                             | < ε         |
|                                                                                                                                                  | ῑ  | τιμ <sup>η</sup> λαχανου — β εκ < κ̄                                                                                                                                    | αργ̄ < μ    |
| 15                                                                                                                                               | ῑ  | Φιλιπ <sup>ο</sup> απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> οινου ως αυτος Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup>                                                                                              | < ιβ        |
|                                                                                                                                                  | ιδ̄ | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως πρωιας                                                                                                                                       | < δ         |
|                                                                                                                                                  | ιε̄ | Κεκητος ελαιουργ <sup>ο</sup> απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> λαχαν <sup>ο</sup> ωστε αυ <sup>ο</sup><br>Επιμαχωι εις Ερμουπο <sup>λ</sup>                                         | αργ̄ < κ    |
|                                                                                                                                                  | κᾱ | Φιλιπ <sup>ο</sup> απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> αλλ <sup>ο</sup> οιν <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ε</sup> ι εκ < ε̄                                                                      | < κε        |
| 20                                                                                                                                               | κ̄  | Κεκητος ομοιως απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> λαχανου                                                                                                                             | < κ         |
| <p>           / το<sup>ι</sup> λημμ<sup>λ</sup> συνελ<sup>ο</sup> του μηνος Σεβ<sup>λ</sup><br/>           επι το 5 αργ̄ &lt; σκα ρ         </p> |     |                                                                                                                                                                         |             |

(Col. 2.)

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <p>           αφ ων αυη<sup>λ</sup> τω 5 ια L μηνι Σεβαστωι<br/>           ᾱ μισ<sup>ο</sup> εργατου υποουργοντ<sup>ο</sup> Σαρατι κονι<sup>λ</sup> οντι περι το βα<sup>λ</sup> ρ̄<br/>           25 ετι αυτ<sup>λ</sup> εν τω Αμβρυων κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρου κ<sup>ι</sup> Επιμαχ<sup>ο</sup> απο φορ<sup>ο</sup> φουνι<sup>ε</sup> </p> |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|

Line 5. μηνος Σεβαστου: there does not appear to be any record of the occurrence elsewhere of this name for the month Thouth, but it presents no difficulty. It is, of course, only an adoption of the Roman name Augustus. Instead, however, of being applied to the month Mesore, which corresponded with the greater part of the Roman August, it is given to Thouth, which began on August 29. The reason, no doubt, was that Thouth was the first month of the Egyptian year, and therefore was more honourable than Mesore, which was the last.

Line 6. ρ: for this, and all the other symbols denoting sums of obols, see introduction to Pap. cxix.

Line 7. εις δαπανη(ν) κερματος: i.e. small change for current expenses. In the subsequent tables of receipts κερματος is generally omitted, but the phrase Επιμαχο(ν) εις δαπανην is of frequent occurrence, the amount advanced being nearly always the same, viz. four drachmas.

Line 14. —: the regular symbol for "artaba." Ξ, which is sometimes found instead (e.g. Pap. xv. (8), l. 9), properly indicates "wheat," from which it comes to be used for an artaba of wheat. The two symbols are found together in this papyrus, e.g. ll. 177, 178, and repeatedly in Pap. cxix.

Line 19. κ<sup>ε</sup> ι: both the reading and meaning are rather obscure; but cf. ll. 269, 398, 483, where similar characters recur. κ<sup>ε</sup> may stand for κεραμίων, and ι is no doubt the numeral; but it is remarkable that the price is immediately afterwards stated *per* μετρητής, not *per* κεράμιον. Ten κεράμια at 5 dr. each would give a total of 50 dr. instead of 25; but two κεράμια = one μετρητής.

Line 22. 5: this symbol stands for αὐτός or its cases. It occurs once in the text of Aristotle's Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, which is written on the verso of this papyrus, and repeatedly in the notes on Dem. *contr. Meid.*, which are also found on the verso; but otherwise it appears to be unknown except in the present document, in which it occurs frequently. In form it closely resembles the symbol for "drachma," when the latter is written, as is often the case, in conjunction with a preceding word; but it may be distinguished by having the horizontal stroke distinct above it, instead of being attached to it, as is the case with the symbol for a drachma. σκα: the σ has the same strange form which is also found for the numeral in Pap. cxix. l. 4 (see note) and elsewhere.

Line 23. τω 5 ια L: i.e. τῷ αὐτῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει.

Line 24. κονι<sup>λ</sup>: probably = κονιατή.

Line 25. ετι: the characters are doubtful, but appear to be as here read, in which case the word is equivalent to the Latin *item*. εν-τω: χωριω is accidentally omitted; cf. l. 31. κ<sup>ι</sup> = καί, an abbreviation which occurs *passim* in this papyrus. Επιμαχο[ς]: not the master of the estate, the son of Polydeuces (l. 2), but (as appears from ll. 174, 186) the son of Pachnoutis, and one of the regular labourers on the estate, whose name appears repeatedly along with other similar labourers. It may be noticed that the wages of the regular labourers, whose names are given, are not included in this account, being probably paid periodically by Epimachus. This account only gives the payments for casual labour, which were presumably made at the end of each day: cf. ll. 31, 40, &c.

|    |                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
|    | Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τωι οργ <sup>ω</sup> συν τ <sup>ω</sup> μηχ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                             |                    |
| β  | σκα <sub>1</sub> κοπρον εκτος της οικιας εργ <sup>ω</sup> β κ <sup>ι</sup> επιτι <sup>ο</sup> ονοις                                                                         |                    |
|    | τρισι Παωτος Ηρακ <sup>λ</sup> τ <sup>ι</sup> f                                                                                                                             | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|    | μισ <sup>ο</sup> αλλων παι <sup>δ</sup> β ακολουθουντων τοις ονοις                                                                                                          | f                  |
| 30 | μισ <sup>ο</sup> κοπρηγ <sup>ω</sup> δυο δι <sup>τ</sup> Παωτος ονη <sup>λ</sup> ως Επιμα <sup>χ</sup>                                                                      | —                  |
|    | αντ <sup>λ</sup> εν τω χωρι <sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> |                    |
|    | Δημητριω Παχρατ <sup>ο</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> κυκλευτου                                                                                                                     | f                  |
| γ  | σκα <sub>1</sub> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> κοπρον προς τη οικια κ <sup>ι</sup> επιτι <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup>                                                                 |                    |
|    | ονοις τρισι Παωτος ονη <sup>λ</sup> τ <sup>ι</sup> f                                                                                                                        | < α—               |
| 35 | ακολου <sup>ο</sup> τοις αυτοις ονοις παι <sup>δ</sup> β τ <sup>ι</sup> = f                                                                                                 | f                  |
|    | χωφορ <sup>ο</sup> εις το χωμα των εκ του Ινδι <sup>ο</sup> f β εργ <sup>ω</sup> β                                                                                          | < α—               |
|    | θρυοτι <sup>λ</sup> σκαφει <sup>ω</sup> εν ταις εκ του Ινδι <sup>ο</sup> f ι κ <sup>ι</sup> μετε <sup>ο</sup>                                                               |                    |
|    | εις τας απο απηλι <sup>ω</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> f β προ του υδατ <sup>ο</sup>                                                                                              |                    |
|    | εργ <sup>ω</sup> τ <sup>ι</sup> f                                                                                                                                           | χ <sup>λ</sup> < γ |
| 40 | αντ <sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι <sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυων Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup>                          |                    |
| δ  | βοτανι <sup>ς</sup> εν τω χωρι <sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> παι <sup>δ</sup> τ <sup>ι</sup> = f                                                           | < β f              |
|    | αντ <sup>λ</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Φιβις α <sup>λ</sup> α αντι                             |                    |
|    | Αμβρυοντος βοτανιζοντος μετα τ <sup>ω</sup> παι <sup>δ</sup>                                                                                                                | f                  |
|    | επασφα <sup>λ</sup> το χωμα Ινδι <sup>ο</sup> f β δευ <sup>λ</sup> εργ <sup>ω</sup> β τ <sup>ι</sup> =                                                                      | f                  |
| 45 | ε αναλαμβ <sup>λ</sup> το ρηγμα Ινδι <sup>ο</sup> f β κ <sup>ι</sup> χωφορ <sup>ο</sup>                                                                                     |                    |
|    | εις αυτο εργ <sup>ω</sup> η τ <sup>ι</sup> f εως μεσημβρι <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                      | χ <sup>λ</sup> < δ |
|    | αντ <sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι <sup>ω</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> α                 | f                  |
|    | ανη <sup>λ</sup> χ <sup>λ</sup> < ιη                                                                                                                                        |                    |

(Col. 3.)

|    |                                                                                                             |                    |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
|    | Αμβρυων αργ <sup>ι</sup>                                                                                    |                    |
| 50 | εργατηι οντι επι τ <sup>ι</sup> χωμ <sup>λ</sup> Ινδι <sup>ο</sup> υδροφυλακουντι                           | f                  |
|    | αλλωι βωλοκοπησαντι χουν του χωματ <sup>ο</sup> f ι                                                         | f                  |
|    | σκα <sub>1</sub> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> κοπρον προς τ <sup>η</sup> οικια κ <sup>ι</sup> επιτι <sup>ο</sup> ονοις |                    |
|    | τρισι Παωτος εργ <sup>ω</sup> β τ <sup>ι</sup> f                                                            | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|    | ακολου <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> τοις ονοις αιρ <sup>ο</sup> την κοπρ <sup>ο</sup> προς τ <sup>ω</sup> |                    |
| 55 | Δημ[η]τριω παι <sup>δ</sup> γ τ <sup>ι</sup> = f                                                            | < α—f              |

Line 26. οργ<sup>ω</sup>: *i.e.* ὀργάνω. μηχ<sup>λ</sup>: *i.e.* μηχαναρίω; cf. Pap. cxxxi\*. l. 51.

Line 27. σκα<sub>1</sub>: = σκάπτοντες. The word occurs frequently in this document.

Line 28. τ<sup>ι</sup>: this symbol is regularly used in the present document to indicate "at so much apiece," but it is not clear what its origin is, unless it be an abbreviation of τιμή = "at the rate of."

Line 30. κοπρηγω(ν): = dung-carts. δι<sup>τ</sup>: = διά. ονη<sup>λ</sup>: = ὀνηλάτου.

Line 32. κυκλευτου: a term occurring frequently (in conjunction with the phrase κυκλείειν τὸ ὄργανον) in the entries for the months Pharmouthi and Pachon. It is not in the lexicons, but appears to mean a person driving some kind of agricultural machine.

Line 36. χωφορ<sup>ο</sup>: the abbreviation here (which recurs repeatedly in this MS.) is exactly similar to that which in late

Greek MSS. stands for -ος, *viz.* a large round sigma with an inside it. From a comparison of instances it is clear that it here represents the diphthong ου, and it must be supposed that it was originally written θ, of which the present form is a perversion. χωμα: the χώματα referred to frequently in this part of the accounts must be embankments connected with the irrigation system. τ<sup>ι</sup>: = ἄρουρα.

Line 37. θρυοτι<sup>λ</sup>: = θρυοτίλλοντες. Not in the lexicons; cf. θρυοκό(πτοντες) in l. 80.

Line 42. α<sup>λ</sup> α: *i.e.* "and one other man." Cf. l. 97.

Line 49. αργ<sup>ι</sup>: qu. ἀργίξει, or some other variant of ἀργεί, meaning that Ambruon was taking holiday that day. The word ἀργεί itself occurs in Pap. cxxxi\*. l. 59, and the ι here may stand for the diphthong.

Line 50. τ: = τὸ or τῷ. It is written above the line.

- 5 ε[ργατη] φυλασσουντι το χωμα Ινδι° ὅ β κατα  
 . . . . . ταν εως ενα εκει στησωμεν  
 αντλ° εις το χωρι° Ωρ° Ωρ° κ' Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α  
 βοτανις εν τω χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' παι<sup>δ</sup> ζ τ' = \
- 60 ζ επασφαλις κ' υδροφυ<sup>λ</sup> ομοι° το ρηγμα κ' το χ<sup>ω</sup>  
 των εκ του Ινδιου. ὅ β ερῳ ε τ' f  
 βοτανις εν τω παρ<sup>δ</sup> απη<sup>λ</sup> χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ'  
 παι<sup>δ</sup> θ τ' = \
- 65 η Πανετουωτει Καναιτος γεγονοτι επι τ<sup>ω</sup>  
 χωμ<sup>λ</sup> Ινδι° ὅ β αμα κ' εις το Ηφαιστ<sup>τ</sup> Κερφε<sup>λ</sup>  
 απο σημερ° φυλασστ<sup>ν</sup> νυκξι κ' ημερ<sup>λ</sup> απο  
 των εσταμενων αντω διδοσθι υπ εμ<sup>ο</sup>  
 κ' Ηφαιστι<sup>ν</sup> Κερφε<sup>λ</sup> προς αναλογ<sup>ο</sup> του μην<sup>ο</sup>
- 70 < κ̄ επι λογ<sup>ω</sup> δι εμου  
 βοτανις εν τω χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' παι<sup>δ</sup> ζ τ' = \
- αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι° ομοι° Ωρ° Ωρ° κ' Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α  
 ονοι Παωτος μετηνεγ<sup>ε</sup> εις οικ<sup>ο</sup> απο πλιν<sup>ο</sup>
- ανη<sup>λ</sup> αρῳ < δ κ' χ<sup>λ</sup> < ιζ f
- (Col. 4.)
- 75 Πείμουντ<sup>ο</sup> ιερε<sup>ω</sup> Διος αρι<sup>ο</sup> ᾱ κ' εις τ<sup>η</sup> επαν<sup>λ</sup> φν  
 θ βοτανις εν τω χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' παι<sup>δ</sup> η τ' = \
- ι βοτανις ομοι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' παι<sup>δ</sup> ι τ' = \
- 80 αντ<sup>λ</sup> ομοιως Ωρ° Ωρ° κ' Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α  
 ηδυ<sup>λ</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> θρυνοκ<sup>λ</sup> κ' θρυνοτι<sup>λ</sup> ερῳ η τ' f
- ια Δημητριωι Παχρ<sup>λ</sup> μηχ<sup>λ</sup>  
 χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> εις τον γυν τω<sup>λ</sup> εκ του Απολλωνι<sup>ο</sup>  
 α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> ερῳ ζ
- 85 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι° Ωρ° Ωρ° κ' Επι<sup>μ</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α  
 βοτανις εν τω ηλιαστ<sup>η</sup> του χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup>  
 κ' παι<sup>δ</sup> ζ τ' = \
- μισ<sup>ο</sup> ερῳ δ επασφαλις ομοι° το χωμα  
 Ινδι° ὅ β β πη . . . . . πλασταις κ' καλα<sup>μ</sup>  
 συν τω υδροφυλακουντι τ' f
- 90 ιβ χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> ομοι° εις τον γυν τω<sup>λ</sup> εκ του  
 Απολλωνι<sup>ο</sup> α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> ερῳ η τ' f
- αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι° Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ° Ωρου κ'  
 Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ' Φιβις α<sup>λ</sup> α

Line 75. The symbol after αρι<sup>ο</sup> is quite obscure.

Line 82. γυν : perhaps = χυν. For the phrase which follows, των εκ του Α., cf. l. 61, των εκ του Ινδιου.

Line 83. τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> : as appears from l. 157, this is an abbreviation for τρυχατος ; but the word is not known to the lexicons, and there is nothing to show its meaning.

- 95  $\bar{\iota}\gamma$   $\chi\omega\phi\omicron\rho^{\circ}$  εις την απο βορρα αναβο<sup>λ</sup> τω<sup>ς</sup>  
 $\epsilon\kappa$  του Περι<sup>λ</sup>  $\zeta$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$   $\delta$   $\tau'$   $\int$   $\chi^{\iota} < \beta$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρου  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις αλλ<sup>ο</sup> εις  $\int$   
 ανη<sup>λ</sup> αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $<$  ιβ κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\chi^{\iota} <$  κζ  $\int$

(Col. 5.)

- 100  $\bar{\iota}\delta$   $\chi\omega\phi\omicron\rho^{\circ}$  κ<sup>λ</sup> αναβα<sup>λ</sup> εις τον γυν των  $\epsilon[\kappa]$  του πρωτ<sup>ο</sup>  
 $\zeta$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$   $\delta$   $\tau'$   $\int$   $\chi^{\iota} < \beta$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις αλλος α  $\int$   
 $\bar{\iota}\epsilon$  αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 105  $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$  θρυνοκ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> θρυοτι<sup>λ</sup> εν ταις  $\bar{\alpha}$  Αριστομαχ<sup>ο</sup>  
 $\zeta$  β  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  η  $\tau'$   $\int$   $\chi^{\iota} < \delta$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 $\bar{\iota}\zeta$  αντ<sup>λ</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμαχ<sup>ο</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 110  $\bar{\iota}\eta$  Βαρωσει ποιμενι καρτρα ποκων  
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυων κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> [Ωρο]υ  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμαχ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 $\bar{\iota}\theta$  Επιμαχ<sup>ω</sup> σοι εις Ερμουπο<sup>λ</sup> δι<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ιασ<sup>ο</sup>  $a[\rho\gamma] < [\kappa]$   
 115 τιμ<sup>η</sup> ελαιου εις περιστερ<sup>λ</sup> οπτωμεν<sup>λ</sup>  
 και πεμπομεν<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> εις Ερμουπο<sup>λ</sup>  $[-\cup]$   
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> εργατ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρου Ιασον<sup>ο</sup> απενεγκαντ<sup>ο</sup> εις  
 Ερμουπο<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> αρτους κ<sup>λ</sup> οπων<sup>δ</sup>  $[\int]$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup>  
 120 Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 $\bar{\kappa}$  μισ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ιασ<sup>ο</sup> μηπω εληλυ<sup>ο</sup> αφ Ερμουπο<sup>λ</sup>  $\int$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρου

ανη<sup>λ</sup> αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $<$  κ κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\chi^{\iota} <$  ι  $\int$

(Col. 6.)

- 125  $\bar{\kappa}\alpha$  κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 τιμ<sup>η</sup> φακου  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  ορνιξι κ<sup>λ</sup> περιστ<sup>λ</sup>  $< \beta\int$   
 αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 $\bar{\kappa}\beta$  αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
 κ<sup>λ</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>λ</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\gamma}$  α  $\int$   
 130  $\bar{\kappa}\gamma$  Απολλωνιωι κωμογραμματα Πεεντα<sup>λ</sup>  
 γραμματι<sup>ς</sup> αναμετρησαντι τα εκ του



- 135     σταυρου περι Πeenτα<sup>λ</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> παραδοντι τας  
         αρουρας πληρ<sup>η</sup> απο των ωμολογημεν<sup>ω</sup>  
         αυται υπο Ευδαιμον<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ηφαιστι<sup>ω</sup> Πανται<sup>ο</sup>  
         κ<sup>ι</sup> Θεων<sup>ο</sup> Κερφέλλι<sup>ο</sup> < ιβ<sup>ι</sup> τας επιβα<sup>λ</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
         . . . . . ους ειρατος . . . τρος < γ  
         Φιβει Ψεναμουνη<sup>ο</sup> γεωργ<sup>ω</sup> Πeenταλει<sup>τ</sup>  
         εις χωφορι<sup>λ</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> υδροφυ<sup>λ</sup> των αυτ<sup>ω</sup> αρουρ<sup>ω</sup>  
         απο < κ<sup>ι</sup> τας επιβα<sup>λ</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> ν<sup>ι</sup> μερ<sup>ο</sup> εβ<sup>ι</sup>  
 140     ων και λογον εταξατο ο Φιβις αργ<sup>γ</sup> < [ε]  
         αντ<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup>  
         κ<sup>ι</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
         κδ αντ<sup>λ</sup> Αμβρυων κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Επιμαχος  
         κ<sup>ι</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
 145     κε χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> εις την απο βορρα αναβο<sup>λ</sup> ιπποστρ<sup>λ</sup>  
         κλ<sup>η</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> δ τ<sup>ι</sup> f χ<sup>λ</sup> < β  
         αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> οι αυτοι κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
         κς χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> εις την απο βορρ<sup>λ</sup> αναβο<sup>λ</sup>  
         ανη<sup>λ</sup> αργ<sup>γ</sup> < ι f κ<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < ε  
 (Col. 7.)  
 150     τω<sup>ι</sup> εκ του σταυρ<sup>ο</sup> περι Πeenτα<sup>λ</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> ε το d εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
         αντ<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> οι αυτοι παρ<sup>η</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α [f]  
         κζ χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> εις την λιβικ<sup>η</sup> αναβο<sup>λ</sup> τω<sup>ι</sup> α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup>  
         προς υδροφυ<sup>λ</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> γ τ<sup>ι</sup> f < α f  
         αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α f  
 155     κη Επιμαχωι σοι υπαγοντι εις Ερμουπο<sup>λ</sup> αργ<sup>γ</sup> < [ε]s  
         χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> ομοιως εις την λιβικην αναβο<sup>λ</sup> τω<sup>ι</sup>  
         α τρυχατος εργ<sup>γ</sup> β τ<sup>ι</sup> f χ<sup>λ</sup> < α  
         αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Επιμα<sup>χ</sup>  
         κ<sup>ι</sup> Φιβις κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
 160     κθ αντ<sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> οι αυτοι παρ ημ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
         λ αντ<sup>λ</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> οι αυτοι παρ<sup>η</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> α f  
         μισ<sup>ο</sup> εργ<sup>γ</sup> οντ<sup>ο</sup> εν τ<sup>η</sup> τωμει αυ . . . προς το  
         κατακλυσ<sup>λ</sup> υπο του υδατ<sup>ο</sup> f  
         ανη<sup>λ</sup> αργ<sup>γ</sup> < ις κ<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < s  
 165     / το<sup>ι</sup> ανη<sup>λ</sup> του μηνος Σεβαστου επι το 5  
         αργ<sup>γ</sup> < ξβ f κ<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < πε= αι αργ<sup>γ</sup> [ως τ<sup>ω</sup>] χ<sup>ω</sup> < δ

Line 160. παρ ημ<sup>ω</sup>: this reading must supply the interpretation to the abbreviations in ll. 151 and 161; cf. also ll. 387, 393, 395, 399. The abbreviation παρ<sup>η</sup> = παρ<sup>η</sup> ημ<sup>ων</sup> is certainly remarkable, but cf. l. 347, where το<sup>χ</sup> = τὸ χωρίον, l. 178 κατα<sup>μ</sup> = κατὰ μέρος, l. 570 κατα<sup>μ</sup> = κατὰ μετοχήν.

Line 166. αι αργ<sup>γ</sup> κ.τ.λ.: that is, the ratio of value of silver to copper was such that 24 obols (4 drachmas) of the one were equivalent to 29 of the other. At this proportion, 85 drachmas 2 obols of copper are equivalent approximately to 71 drachmas 1 obol of silver, though the exchange might have been a little

οβο<sup>λ</sup> κθ αρ̄γ < οα — / επι το 5 [αρ]γ̄ < ρλγ f  
 ανθ ων λημ<sup>λ</sup> του 5 μηνος Σεβ<sup>λ</sup>  
 αρ̄γ < σκα f καταλει<sup>λ</sup> εις Φαωφι αρ̄γ < πζ f

(Col. 8.)

|     |                                                                                                                                                   |                    |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 170 | Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορ[ος] Καισαρος<br>Ουεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος Φαωφι<br>ων λημ <sup>λ</sup>                                               |                    |
|     | ā ε[γ] λογον λημματος του μηνος Σεβαστου<br>Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> Παχνουτ <sup>ι</sup> απο φορου φοινι <sup>ε</sup> απη <sup>λ</sup> χ <sup>ω</sup> | αρ̄γ < πζ f<br>< η |
| 175 | ē Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup> οφι <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                     | < δ                |
|     | ιβ Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως δ . πι . . .                                                                                                        | < δ                |
|     | ιγ τιμ <sup>η</sup> 7 — s εκ < ι                                                                                                                  | αρ̄γ < ξ           |
|     | κ τιμ <sup>η</sup> 7 — ιδ πεπραμεν <sup>ω</sup> κατα <sup>α</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> ει <sup>λ</sup>                                              | αρ̄γ < ρμ          |
|     | κα Απολλοδωρ <sup>ο</sup> ιατρον τιμ <sup>η</sup> λαχ <sup>λ</sup> — ε εκ < κα                                                                    | αρ̄γ < ρε          |
| 180 | κγ Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup>                                                                                              | < δ                |
|     | κδ τιμ <sup>η</sup> 7 — δ ομοιως εκ < [ι]                                                                                                         | < μ                |
|     | κε Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως αλλ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                    | < ι[β]             |
|     | κζ Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> ωστε αγορασα[ι] σπερμ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                       | < λβ               |

/ λημ<sup>λ</sup> συνελ<sup>ο</sup> αρ̄γ < [ν]ς f

(Col. 9.)

|     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                    |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 185 | α[φ ων] ανη <sup>λ</sup> τω 5 μηνι Φαωφι                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                    |
| ā   | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> [εις το] χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κη <sup>λ</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> Παχν <sup>ο</sup><br>απο φορ[ο] φοιν <sup>ι</sup> απη <sup>λ</sup> χ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> ερ̄γ α | f                  |
| β̄  | Αμβρυ[ωνι] κηπουρωι δι Επιμα <sup>α</sup> Παχν <sup>ο</sup> απο φορ <sup>ο</sup> φοινι <sup>ε</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                     | < η                |
| γ̄  | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> [εις το] χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> α                                                                                                        | f                  |
| 190 | χωφορ[ο] [εις] τον νοτι <sup>ω</sup> γυν των εκ του πρωτου<br>7 s [ερ̄γ β]                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|     | καθαρι <sup>ς</sup> [τ <sup>ω</sup> ] νεοφν <sup>ω</sup> του χ <sup>ω</sup> τα περισσ <sup>ω</sup> βλαστηματα ερ̄γ α                                                                                                                                                                                    | f                  |
| δ̄  | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> ε[ις το] χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β τ f                                                                                                                                   | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|     | Φιβις αρ[γ] συ[ναιρων] μετα Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> τον λογον                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                    |
| 195 | καθαρι <sup>ς</sup> ο[μοιως] . . τ <sup>ω</sup> νεοφν <sup>ω</sup> τα περισσα βλαστηματα ερ̄γ α                                                                                                                                                                                                         | f                  |
| ē   | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> Αμ[βρ]υ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> αλλοι δυο τ f                                                                                                                                                                   | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|     | Φιβις ομοιως αργ <sup>ι</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                    |
|     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> εργατ <sup>ο</sup> ουτ <sup>ο</sup> εν τ <sup>η</sup> τωμει προ του υδατ <sup>ο</sup> προς το<br>ποτισθηναι το υψηλ <sup>ο</sup> τοπιον                                                                                                                                                | f                  |
| 200 | 5 αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β                                                                                                                                                      | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |
|     | Φιβις ομοι <sup>ω</sup> αργ <sup>ι</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                    |
| [ζ] | τιμ <sup>η</sup> φακου — . . ορνι <sup>ξ</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> περιστεραις δι <sup>λ</sup> Θαλλουσ <sup>η</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                          | < β f              |
|     | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>α</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β τ f                                                                                                                                         | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α |

more exactly worked out. In some of the other statements of  
 monthly totals the ratio is given as 24:28, or 6:7; cf. note on

l. 373.

Line 178. κατα<sup>α</sup> : = κατά μέρος; cf. l. 360, and note on l. 160.

Φιβις ἀργ' ὁμοίως

- 205 ἦ Πανετουωτι Καναιτος υδροφυλακι του διαzeugματος  
 Ἰνδι<sup>ο</sup> ὕ β πορευθεντι ἀ[πο σ]ημερ<sup>ο</sup> φυλαξαντι δε απο ἦ  
 μηνος [Σεβα]στου . . . . . ημεραις ημ<sup>ς</sup> λ απ . . ων  
 συναγομ . . . . μεθ ας εσ<sup>χ</sup> παρα [Η]φαιστι<sup>ω</sup> Κερφέλλιου

ανη<sup>λ</sup> αργ̄ < ι f κ' χ<sup>λ</sup> ζ f

(Col. 10.)

- 210 υπερ ημισειας αυτου < ι αλλ<sup>λ</sup> δι εμ<sup>ο</sup> < δ . . [ο]μοι<sup>ω</sup> εις  
 πληρωσιν του ημων μερους αργ̄ < s  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επιμα<sup>α</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 [θ̄] αντλ<sup>ο</sup> ὁμοι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ' Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επιμα<sup>α</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> α f  
 ἰ σκα<sup>ι</sup> εκτος του τει<sup>χ</sup> της αυλης ει που ευρεθ[ησ]εται  
 215 κοπρος εργ̄ α f κ' παις α = f  
 [α]ντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επιμα<sup>α</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 ια [α]ντλ<sup>ο</sup> ὁμοι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ' Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επιμα<sup>α</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup> [α<sup>λ</sup> α] f  
 Νικηφορω παι<sup>δ</sup> ωστε προθμει υπαγ[οντ]ι εις  
 Ιβ<sup>ω</sup> Πανεσ<sup>τ</sup> καταστησ̄ επιστο<sup>λ</sup> Αρμαει ωστ<sup>τ</sup> . . .  
 220 νιωι ως οντι εν Κοπτωι =  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επιμα<sup>α</sup> κ' [Φι<sup>β</sup>]  
 ι[β̄] θρυοτι<sup>λ</sup> σκαφειοις εν ταις ᾱ τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> ὕ ε εργ̄ [ζ τ'] f < γ f  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> ὁμοίως εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επι<sup>α</sup> κ' [Φι<sup>β</sup>] α<sup>λ</sup> α f  
 εγ̄ θρυοτι<sup>λ</sup> ὁμοι<sup>ω</sup> εν ταις αυταις ᾱ τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> εργ̄ [s] τ' f < γ  
 225 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βοων ζ<sup>ς</sup> α χερσοκο<sup>ι</sup> εν τω αναπαυμ<sup>λ</sup> η[δ]ν<sup>λ</sup> < α f  
 χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> εις την λιβικην αναβο<sup>λ</sup> των εκ του  
 πρωτου ὕ s κατα μετο<sup>χ</sup> Γαιου ιππε<sup>ω</sup> κ' Σαρα<sup>ι</sup> ια ὕ s  
 . . ροτομ<sup>ω</sup> προς το τας αρουρας ποτισθην<sup>ι</sup> κατα  
 μειος απο σημερ<sup>ο</sup> εως ιε εργ̄ ιη οι επιβα<sup>λ</sup>  
 230 ημειν υπερ του ημων μερους εργ̄ ζ τ' f < γ f  
 βωλοκο<sup>ι</sup> ὁμοι<sup>ω</sup> το χωμα του γυσου των αυτ<sup>ω</sup>  
 αρουρων εργ̄ β τ' f χ<sup>λ</sup> < α  
 χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> ὁμοι<sup>ω</sup> εις την λιβικ<sup>η</sup> αναβο<sup>λ</sup> ιπποστρ<sup>λ</sup>

αν<sup>η</sup> αργ̄ < s κ' χ<sup>λ</sup> < ιε =

(Col. 11.)

- 235 δ[ι]ν<sup>λ</sup> εργ̄ ε τ' = < α f  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ' Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Επι<sup>α</sup> κ' Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 ιδ̄ χωφ<sup>ο</sup> ὁμο<sup>ι</sup> εις την αυτην αν[α]βο<sup>λ</sup> κ' νοτι<sup>ω</sup>  
 ιπποστρ<sup>λ</sup> εργ̄ η τ' f χ<sup>λ</sup> < δ  
 σκα<sup>ι</sup> κ' χωφορ<sup>ο</sup> εις τον γυν των εκ του πρωτ<sup>ω</sup>

Line 225. ζ<sup>ς</sup> α : i.e. ζεύγος α'.

Line 229. μειος : so MS., but perhaps intended for μερος.

Line 230. ημειν : the first two letters are doubtful.

|     |                                                                                                                                                                               |                      |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 240 | δι <sup>λ</sup> Παωτος ονη <sup>λ</sup> ερ <sup>γ</sup> β                                                                                                                     | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α   |
|     | ηδυ <sup>λ</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> χερσοκο <sup>ι</sup> ομο <sup>ο</sup> βο <sup>ω</sup> ζ <sup>ε</sup> α                                                                        | α f                  |
|     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> εργατ <sup>ο</sup> οντ <sup>ο</sup> επι <sup>τ</sup> χωμ <sup>λ</sup> ιπποστρ <sup>λ</sup> κατα                                                              |                      |
|     | νυ <sup>ε</sup> συν τοις Ηφαιστ <sup>ι</sup> υδροφυ <sup>λ</sup> μηπ <sup>ω</sup> σχασ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                           | f                    |
|     | θρυοκο <sup>ι</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> αυτ <sup>ω</sup> κλ <sup>η</sup> ιπποστρ <sup>λ</sup> δει <sup>λ</sup> δ τ <sup>ε</sup> =                                               | < α =                |
| 245 | θρυοτι <sup>λ</sup> εν ταις εκ του Περι[λαο]υ υ <sup>ε</sup> ε ερ <sup>γ</sup> β                                                                                              | χ <sup>λ</sup> < [α] |
|     | αντ <sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Επι <sup>μ</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup>                   |                      |
| ιε  | αντ <sup>λ</sup> εις το χωρι <sup>ο</sup> οι αυτοι ομοι <sup>ω</sup>                                                                                                          |                      |
| ις  | Επιμαχ <sup>ω</sup> ι σοι απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> Ξ                                                                                                                              | < η                  |
|     | Ηφαιστιωνι Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> επιμελ <sup>η</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> ερ <sup>γ</sup> δ                                                                                          |                      |
| 250 | φυλασσοντ <sup>ω</sup> τα χωματα Περιλαου κατα                                                                                                                                |                      |
|     | νυ <sup>ε</sup> εως ποτισ <sup>ο</sup> Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ε[ι]ποντ <sup>ο</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ιβ                                                                            | χ <sup>λ</sup> < β   |
|     | χωφουρ <sup>ο</sup> ομο <sup>ο</sup> εις τον νοτιν <sup>ο</sup> γυν των                                                                                                       |                      |
|     | εκ του πρωτου υ <sup>ε</sup> 5 δι <sup>λ</sup> Παωτ <sup>ο</sup> ονη <sup>λ</sup> δ τ <sup>ε</sup> f                                                                          | χ <sup>λ</sup> < β   |
|     | τιμη φακου — κατα μερ <sup>ο</sup> ορνιξι κ <sup>λ</sup> περιστ <sup>ε</sup>                                                                                                  | < β f                |
| 255 | απ[ο] σημερ <sup>ο</sup> ις εγενοντο εν τ <sup>ω</sup> ιπποστρ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                   |                      |
|     | ερ <sup>γ</sup> β υδροφυ <sup>λ</sup> νυ <sup>ε</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> ημερ <sup>λ</sup> ωστ <sup>ε</sup> ημ <sup>ε</sup> δ < δ ε <sup>ω</sup>                                  |                      |
|     | μετα τ <sup>ο</sup> Ηφαιστ <sup>ο</sup> . . . ποτισ <sup>ο</sup>                                                                                                              |                      |
|     | αντ <sup>λ</sup> . Αμβ <sup>β</sup> η . . . . . απο <sup>λ</sup> χ . . . Αρμαιον Βη <sup>σ</sup>                                                                              |                      |
|     | ερ <sup>γ</sup> η . . ημων ερ <sup>γ</sup> β τ <sup>ε</sup> f                                                                                                                 | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α   |
| 260 | αν <sup>η</sup> αρ <sup>γ</sup> < ι f κ <sup>λ</sup> χ <sup>λ</sup> < ις —                                                                                                    |                      |
|     | (Col. 12.)                                                                                                                                                                    |                      |
|     | τιμ <sup>η</sup> . . [α]ρτου < θ ζ <sup>ε</sup> α κ <sup>λ</sup> δι <sup>λ</sup> Παωτος ονη <sup>λ</sup> το ισον                                                              |                      |
|     | επαροτ <sup>ε</sup> εις ζυτον = το \                                                                                                                                          | —                    |
|     | σκα <sup>λ</sup> [κο]προν εν τ <sup>η</sup> αυλ <sup>η</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> εκφερ <sup>ο</sup> εξω ερ <sup>γ</sup> α παλ <sup>ε</sup> β f                                     | < α =                |
|     | αντ[λ <sup>ο</sup> ] εις το χωρι <sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> Ωρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Αρ <sup>λ</sup> κ <sup>λ</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> |                      |
| 265 | ιε μον . . ακον ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εν ταις εκ του πρωτου                                                                                                                       |                      |
|     | υ <sup>ε</sup> . . ζ <sup>ε</sup> β δι <sup>λ</sup> ημων το βοικ <sup>ο</sup> ζευγ <sup>ο</sup> Επιμαχ <sup>ον</sup>                                                          |                      |
|     | Φατρ <sup>η</sup> απο φορου αμαξης < η ζ <sup>ε</sup> α κ <sup>λ</sup> Πα <sup>ω</sup> το ιω <sup>ο</sup>                                                                     |                      |

Line 260. After this column the state of the papyrus becomes so bad as to make continuous decipherment impossible, much of the writing being lost, and much nearly obliterated. The remains of one column are visible, and a small portion, containing the dates, of another; and there this roll of papyrus comes to an end. The last date visible is the 23rd, and as the next roll (col. 12) begins with the 14th of the following month, Athur, the lost portion contains the last seven days of Phaophi and the first thirteen of Athur. This would fill about five columns, which would occupy about 2 feet 8 inches of papyrus; but the greater part of this belongs to the second roll. The first part of the text of the *Ἀθηναίων Πόλις*, which occupies the *verso* of the end of the first roll, was apparently never written (see introduction to that text, which has been published independently), but a blank space was left for it: this, however, was subsequently torn off, leaving the accounts on the *recto* mutilated as we now find them.

Line 261. The second roll of papyrus begins here, but the first portion of it is lost. As there is no corresponding hiatus

in the Aristotle on the *verso*, it is evident that the loss is due to the papyrus not having been in a state which the scribe of the Aristotle thought fit to use. The extent of the loss can be calculated with some precision. As stated in the preceding note, the total lacuna between the end of the first roll and the beginning of the second is about 2 feet 8 inches. Of this it is probable that a relatively small part belonged to the first roll, as it does not appear that a large space need have been left for the beginning of the Aristotle, which should have been on the *recto*; and it will not be far wrong to suppose that at least 2 feet of it belonged to the second roll, which would bring the dimensions of the latter about on an equality with those of the first. The accounts begin again with the 14th day of Athur; the right-hand portion of the preceding column is also preserved, but as it contains little more than sums of money it is not transcribed.

Line 262. ζυτον: ζυθος = ζυθος, "beer." Cf. Wessely, *Zythos und Zythera*, *Jahresbericht des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernald*, 1886-7. Cf. also ll. 294, 398.



- αν[τλ<sup>ο</sup>] εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Αρ<sup>ι</sup> κ Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 270  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  εις τ . . . . . Αμβρυοντ<sup>ο</sup> κη<sup>ι</sup> ευ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ε</sup> ν ανοσ<sup>ω</sup> ςα  
 τ[ι<sup>μ</sup>η] . . . λεως  $\frac{\overline{\alpha}}{\alpha}$  α αρ̄γ < δ f  
 $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  αν[τλ<sup>ο</sup> ει]ς το χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Αρ<sup>ι</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 Ξ [ροβο<sup>λ</sup> ει]ν ταις εκ του Απολλ<sup>ω</sup> [ᾱ] τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> κατα  
 [μετο<sup>χ</sup>] Δημητρι<sup>ο</sup> Παχρατ<sup>ο</sup> β [ξ]ε β εκ < η̄ < ις το  $\searrow$  < η  
 β[ωλοκο] εν ταις εκ του Ινδι<sup>ο</sup> Ξ ια Πα<sup>ω</sup> κατα  
 275 μ[ετο<sup>χ</sup>] Καναιτ<sup>ο</sup> Θασι<sup>ο</sup> και Ιναρ<sup>ω</sup> κουρεως  
 ν . . . . . μερ<sup>ο</sup> ων τους ισ<sup>ο</sup> δεδω<sup>κ</sup> παι<sup>δ</sup> β τ<sup>ι</sup> f χ<sup>λ</sup> < α  
 αν[τλ<sup>ο</sup>] εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Αρπαηστ<sup>ι</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 277  $\overline{\iota\eta}$  Ξ ροβ[ο<sup>λ</sup> ει]ν ταις εκ του Απολλωνι<sup>ο</sup> ᾱ τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> Ξ ε  
 β . . . . . το<sup>λ</sup> . . . ζ<sup>ε</sup> β εκ < η̄ αρ̄γ < ις  
 280 κ<sup>ι</sup> β[ωλοκοπ]οι εν ταις 5 αρουραις κ<sup>ι</sup> καθαιρ<sup>ο</sup>  
 θρνα [παι]ο ε τ<sup>ι</sup> f το  $\searrow$  < α -  $\searrow$   
 θρνοτι[λ σκα]φει<sup>α</sup> εν ταις α ουλημιος Ξ β παι<sup>δ</sup> ε < β f  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Αρ<sup>ι</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup>  
 αν<sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ < κηf κ<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < 5 -  $\searrow$   
 (Col. 13.)  
 285  $\overline{\iota\theta}$  Ξ ροβο<sup>λ</sup> εν ηδυ<sup>λ</sup> Ξ β d ζ<sup>ε</sup> β εκ < η̄ αρ̄γ < ις  
 [μι]σ<sup>ο</sup> αλλου εργατου οντος συν ημειν f  
 . . ωρογρ<sup>ι</sup> εν ταις ᾱ τρυχατ<sup>ο</sup> ερ̄γ δ τ<sup>ι</sup> f ο<sup>β</sup> κ το  $\searrow$  < α f  
 [αν]τλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> Αρ<sup>ι</sup>  
 290  $\overline{\kappa}$  [α]ντλ<sup>ο</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> οι αυτοι  
 $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$  [μ]ονοβο<sup>λ</sup> τη<sup>λ</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> υποστρ<sup>ι</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> τη<sup>λ</sup> ν<sup>ι</sup> ζ<sup>ε</sup> α < η  
 [Θ]αλλουσ<sup>η</sup> τη<sup>λ</sup> ιο<sup>ς</sup>  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> οι αυτοι ομοιω<sup>ς</sup>  
 $\overline{\kappa\beta}$  [Ξ] ροβο<sup>λ</sup> εν ταις ᾱ ουλη<sup>μ</sup> Ξ β ζ<sup>ε</sup> β Ξ α η̄ < ιβ  
 [ε]παροταις εις ζυτ<sup>ο</sup> Επιμαχ<sup>ο</sup> ειποντος =  
 295 βωλοκο, εν ταις αυταις ερ̄γ ε τ<sup>ι</sup> f < γ =  
 μις<sup>ο</sup> Ευχαριστου κοβαλενοντ<sup>ο</sup> θρνα εις ιο<sup>ς</sup> f  
 [α]ντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ω</sup> οι αυτοι ομοιω<sup>ς</sup>  
 $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$  [Ξ] ροβο<sup>λ</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> εν ταις ᾱ ουλημι<sup>ο</sup> ζ<sup>ε</sup> α < s f  
 Ξ . . αμα δε και τας κοιλα<sup>δ</sup> < s f  
 300 [β]ωλοκο<sup>ι</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> παι<sup>δ</sup> γ αμα δε και εν ταις  
 [κ]οιλασι αν β τ<sup>ι</sup> f α<sup>λ</sup> α f / < α f  
 [πλ]ιθνευτ<sup>ο</sup> πλιθνεσαντι πλιω<sup>δ</sup> ωστε  
 . . 5 κηλωνο<sup>ι</sup> Ξ ᾱ τρυ<sup>χ</sup> ημ<sup>ε</sup> β ο<sup>β</sup> ιβ το  $\searrow$  < α

Line 269. ανοσ<sup>ω</sup> : the letter above the line is doubtful.

Line 290. ν<sup>ι</sup> : the reading is very doubtful.

Line 291. ιο<sup>ς</sup> : the ordinary way of expressing the fraction  $\frac{1}{12}$ ;  
 cf. introductory note to Pap. cxix.

Line 293. The number which follows the symbol Ξ (= πυροῦ)

is α and a fraction which, on the analogy of l. 285, should be about  $\frac{2}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but the symbol is not that which usually denotes either of these fractions. It rather resembles a German written w (w).

- 305 [Θ] αλλονσ<sup>7</sup> τιμ<sup>7</sup> φακου σ<sup>1</sup> ορνιξι κ<sup>1</sup> περισ<sup>7</sup> < a —  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χ<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Αρ<sup>1</sup> α<sup>1</sup> a f  
 Φιβις περι το βαλανει<sup>ο</sup> εστ<sup>7</sup>  
 . . ωρογρ<sup>1</sup> υδραγωγ<sup>10</sup> εν ηδν<sup>1</sup> εργ<sup>1</sup> β τ<sup>1</sup> f < a =

αν<sup>7</sup> αργ<sup>1</sup> < μβ f κ<sup>1</sup> χ<sup>1</sup> < ιβ f

(Col. 14.)

- 310 [κδ] βωλοκοι εν τοις ταπεινοις τοποις υ β α ουλη<sup>μ</sup>  
 αμα δε και εν τοις κοιλασι εργ<sup>1</sup> β τ<sup>1</sup> f < a =  
 οι αντληται κοπτονσι θρυα εις το οργ<sup>1</sup>  
 [κε] Δημητριωι Παχρατου μισ<sup>9</sup> τοπον μονοβο<sup>1</sup>  
 εν τ<sup>ω</sup> υποστρ<sup>1</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> τη<sup>1</sup> το < αργ<sup>1</sup> < β  
 σκα κ<sup>1</sup> βωλοκοι εν τοις στερεινοις τοποις  
 315 υ β α ουλημ<sup>ο</sup> προς το σπαρηναι ζ εργ<sup>1</sup> β τ<sup>1</sup> f  
 κ<sup>1</sup> παι<sup>δ</sup> γ τ<sup>1</sup> f χ<sup>1</sup> < β [f]  
 . . . . ωρογρ<sup>1</sup> υδραγωγ<sup>10</sup> εν ταις αυταις β < a =  
 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> εις το χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Αρ<sup>1</sup>  
 [κς] βοτανις εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> παι<sup>δ</sup> σ τ<sup>1</sup> f χ<sup>1</sup> < γ  
 320 αντλ<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Αρπαησ<sup>7</sup>  
 [κζ] Παποντωτι αρχονη<sup>1</sup> μισ<sup>9</sup> ονων τεσσαρ<sup>ω</sup>  
 πορευθεντ<sup>ω</sup> εις το ελος επι κοπρον περισ<sup>7</sup>  
 δι<sup>1</sup> Διοσκορ<sup>ο</sup> Κορινη<sup>1</sup> συν ονοις Πα<sup>ω</sup> τ<sup>1</sup> f Επι<sup>μ</sup> ει<sup>1</sup> χ<sup>1</sup> < [β]  
 ηδν<sup>1</sup> υποσ<sup>κ</sup> ζ<sup>ε</sup> α < ε f  
 325 βοτανις εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> παι<sup>δ</sup> σ τ<sup>1</sup> f χ<sup>1</sup> < γ  
 κοσκιν<sup>ε</sup> κοπρον . . . εις ηδν<sup>1</sup> εργ<sup>1</sup> α f κ<sup>1</sup>  
 παι<sup>δ</sup> β τ<sup>1</sup> f χ<sup>1</sup> < α f  
 Αμβρνων κ<sup>1</sup> Φιβις κοβα<sup>1</sup> απο του ονατορι<sup>δ</sup>  
 ηλιοτροι ξυλα Ηφ<sup>5</sup> υιου εις το απη<sup>1</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup>  
 330 ηδν<sup>1</sup> υποσ<sup>κ</sup> βο<sup>ω</sup> ζ<sup>ε</sup> α < δ f  
 [κη] κοσκιν<sup>ε</sup> ομοιωσ κοπρ<sup>ο</sup> εργ<sup>1</sup> α f παι<sup>δ</sup> β < α < α f  
 βοτανις εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρν<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>1</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ<sup>1</sup>

αν<sup>7</sup> αργ<sup>1</sup> < ιβ κ<sup>1</sup> χ<sup>1</sup> < ιζ —

(Col. 15.)

- 335 παι<sup>δ</sup> ζ εως οψι<sup>1</sup> τ<sup>1</sup> f < γ f  
 Φιβις περι το βαλανει<sup>ο</sup> εστ<sup>7</sup>

Line 304. The papyrus has been torn and re-joined just before this column, and the dates have been lost in the process. It is not difficult, however, to reconstruct them approximately, and this column appears to contain the record from the 24th to the 28th days, inclusive.

Line 323. Επι<sup>μ</sup> ει<sup>1</sup> : *i.e.* Ἐπιμάχου εἰπόντος; cf. ll. 294, 427.

Line 329. Ηφ<sup>5</sup> : the same combination of letters recurs in

l. 372. If it is an abbreviation for Ἡφαιστος, it is a very strange one. The final character is the symbol usually employed for αὐτός.

Line 334. The dates belonging to the present column have been lost, in the same way as those of the preceding, through the re-joining of two pieces of papyrus.

- [κθ] Παποντωτι αρχονη<sup>λ</sup> μισ<sup>ο</sup> ον<sup>ω</sup> η κοβ<sup>λ</sup>  
 κοπρον εις ηδυν<sup>λ</sup> αρ̄γ < η  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> ερ̄γ β επιτι<sup>ο</sup> κοπρον τοις ονοις κ'  
 κοσκιν<sup>ς</sup> τ' < α = < β f  
 340 μισ<sup>ο</sup> αλλου παιδι<sup>ο</sup> οντ<sup>ο</sup> εν αγρ<sup>ω</sup> προ τ<sup>ω</sup> ον<sup>ω</sup>  
 βοτανι<sup>ς</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> εν τ<sup>ω</sup> χωρι<sup>ω</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' Ωρ<sup>ο</sup>  
 Ωρου κ' Φιβις α<sup>λ</sup> γ τ' f < α f  
 [λ] Παποντωτι αρχονη<sup>λ</sup> μισ<sup>ο</sup> ον<sup>ω</sup> s κοβ<sup>λ</sup>  
 κοπρον εις ηδυν<sup>λ</sup> κλ<sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ < s  
 345 μισ<sup>ο</sup> ερ̄γ β κοσκινεν<sup>ο</sup> και επιτι<sup>ο</sup> τοις  
 ονοις εως μεσσυμβρι<sup>λ</sup> τ' α = < β f  
 Αμβρυων κ' Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> Ωρ<sup>ο</sup> κ' Φιβ<sup>ς</sup> αντλ<sup>ς</sup> εις το<sup>ς</sup>  
 τιμ<sup>η</sup> χαρτου εις επιδοσιμον < β  
 αν<sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ < ις κ' χ<sup>λ</sup> < ι f  
 350 / ανηλωμ<sup>λ</sup> του μηνος νεου Σεβαστ<sup>ο</sup>  
 αρ̄γ < σοβ κ' χ<sup>λ</sup> < ρις f αι αρ̄γ ως τ<sup>ω</sup>  
 < δ. ο<sup>ς</sup> κη < ρ / επι το 5 ανη<sup>λ</sup> του μ<sup>η</sup>  
 αρ̄γ < τοβ αν<sup>ο</sup> λημμ<sup>λ</sup> αρ̄γ < τμζ f  
 πλειω υπερ δα<sup>λ</sup> εις χοιακ α αρ̄γ < κδ —  
 (Col. 16.)  
 355 Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος  
 Ονεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος Τυβι αι δε  
 δαπαναι του μηνος Χοιαχ και Τυβι ιε εγενον  
 το δι αυτου Επιμαχου εμου Διδυμου ασθενουντ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ων λημμ<sup>λ</sup> του Τυβι απο ιζ εως λ  
 360 ιζ τιμ<sup>η</sup> Ε — ε εις δαπαν<sup>η</sup> πεπραπεν<sup>ω</sup> κατα μερος  
 κατ επιταγ<sup>η</sup> αυτου Επιμα<sup>ς</sup> εκ < ια αρ̄γ < νε  
 — τιμ<sup>η</sup> Ε — ε ομοιως εκ < ια αρ̄γ < νε  
 λ Επιμαχ<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>η</sup> α του μηνος Χοιαχ εμου

Line 350. νεου Σεβαστου: this name for a month does not appear to be known elsewhere. There is no doubt which month is intended, as from its position between Phaophi and Choiach it can only be Athur; and though the term νεός Σεβαστός is apparently unknown, there is another example of Σεβαστός alone standing for Athur. One of Archduke Rainer's papyri (Pap. 1717: cf. *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, pt. ii. p. 16, 1887) bears the date μηνος σεβαστου αθου πεμπτη. Athur (Oct. 28th–Nov. 27th) was the month in which Vespasian was born; and hence it is probable that the name of Σεβαστός was given to that month during the time that he was present in Egypt before proceeding to Rome. The epithet of νεός was, however, added to it, to distinguish it from Thouth, which was also, as appears from the present document, named Σεβαστός—no doubt in imitation of

the Roman substitution of Augustus for Sextilis. The present document was written in the reign of Vespasian, when both months held their new designations; but by the time of Elagabalus, to which the Rainer papyrus belongs, the name Σεβαστός had evidently dropped out of use for Thouth, and therefore the epithet νεός ceased to be necessary for Athur. It is probable, however, that the name never took very much hold; and it may be observed that in l. 371 the name Ἀθύρ is used instead.

Line 352. κη: the ratio of silver to copper is now 24:28, and the commutation works out exactly.

Line 356. Τυβι: as explained in the following words, the accounts for Choiach and the first half of Tubi are wanting. Didymus was ill, and consequently his master Epimachus kept the accounts himself.

|     |                                                                                                                                                                   |                    |           |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
|     | ασθενουντος                                                                                                                                                       |                    | αρ̄γ̄ < δ |
| 365 | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> την Φι <sup>β</sup> Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ωστε αντλ <sup>η</sup><br>αντλουντι εις τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> τω <sup>ι</sup> α ουλη <sup>η</sup> υ β |                    | < α       |
|     | / λημ <sup>μ</sup> αρ̄γ̄ < ριε                                                                                                                                    |                    |           |
|     | (Col. 17.)                                                                                                                                                        |                    |           |
|     | αφ̄ ων ανη <sup>α</sup> τω 5 μηνι Τυβι αι γαρ του Χοιαχ<br>και Τυ <sup>β</sup> ιε δαπαναι εγενοντο δι <sup>ε</sup> Επιμαχου<br>εμου ασθενουντος                   |                    |           |
| 370 | εγ̄ λογου πλειω υπερ δαπανημα <sup>ο</sup> Αθυρ                                                                                                                   | αρ̄γ̄ < κδ —       |           |
|     | Τυ <sup>β</sup> ις Επιμαχ <sup>ω</sup> σοι τους ωστε Ηφ̄5 υ <sup>ι</sup> υπαγοντι                                                                                 |                    |           |
|     | εις Ερμουπολιν ωστε υπηρετ <sup>η</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ια                                                                                                         |                    | < α f     |
|     | ις̄ βοτανι <sup>ς</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> ηλιαστ <sup>η</sup> παι <sup>ς</sup> γ τ' =                                            | χ <sup>ι</sup> < α |           |
| 375 | παιδιωι προτεμνοντι προ τ <sup>ω</sup> αμπελοτε <sup>α</sup>                                                                                                      | f                  |           |
|     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> ερ̄γ̄ β αραντ <sup>ω</sup> καλαμ <sup>ο</sup> τωλμ <sup>ε</sup> εις το ευρυ <sup>ι</sup>                                                         |                    |           |
|     | ηλιαστηρι <sup>ο</sup> ως τ <sup>ω</sup> δεσ <sup>μ</sup> μ f δεσ <sup>μ</sup> π                                                                                  |                    | < α f     |
|     | ιη̄ εργατ <sup>η</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> ημερ <sup>ω</sup> δυο αμπελοτε <sup>α</sup> τ' ο <sup>β</sup> ε                                                           | χ <sup>ι</sup> < β |           |
|     | αλλωι παιδιωι προτε <sup>α</sup> συν Φι <sup>β</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> τωι ανδ <sup>η</sup>                                                                          | f                  |           |
| 380 | αλλωι ομοι <sup>ω</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> αλλ <sup>η</sup> ημερ <sup>ι</sup> αμπελο <sup>τ</sup> δι Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup>                                             |                    | < α       |
|     | Θαλλουσ <sup>η</sup> τιμ <sup>η</sup> φακου — σ <sup>ι</sup> ορνιξι κ <sup>ι</sup> περιστ <sup>η</sup>                                                            |                    | < α =     |
|     | ιθ̄ Βελλης εισ <sup>η</sup> τε <sup>α</sup> Επιμ <sup>ι</sup> ει <sup>ι</sup> απο ̄τ — < ε f                                                                      |                    |           |
|     | παι <sup>ς</sup> προτεμν <sup>ο</sup> συν Φι <sup>β</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> τωι ανδ <sup>η</sup>                                                                     | f                  |           |
|     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> ερ̄γ̄ κοπτοντ <sup>ο</sup> βαεις μισ <sup>ο</sup> εσ <sup>χ</sup> δι <sup>ε</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup>                                             | α <sup>λ</sup> =   |           |
| 385 | τιλλ <sup>ο</sup> βαεις κ <sup>ι</sup> σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα παι <sup>ς</sup> δ                                                                              |                    | < α =     |
|     | κ̄ τιλλ <sup>ο</sup> βαεις ομοιω <sup>ς</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα παι <sup>ς</sup> γ                                                        |                    | < α — λ   |
|     | παιδιωι προτεμν <sup>ο</sup> συν τοις παρ <sup>η</sup>                                                                                                            | f                  |           |
|     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> εργατου κοβαλενοντ <sup>ο</sup> αχυρ <sup>ο</sup> απο της                                                                                        |                    |           |
|     | επαυλεως εις οικον εις το βα <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                                         | f                  |           |
| 390 | κᾱ Βελλητι τιμ <sup>η</sup> βαϊων εις κατακ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                         | αρ̄γ̄ < η          |           |
|     | ολοτιλλ <sup>ο</sup> καλαμ <sup>ο</sup> τωμ <sup>ε</sup> ως ̄τ παι <sup>ς</sup> δ τ' =                                                                            |                    | < α =     |
|     | αν <sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ̄ συν ες το 5 λβ — κ <sup>ι</sup> χ <sup>ι</sup> < ιε f λ                                                                                     |                    |           |

Line 373. ο<sup>β</sup> ια : this is the first of a small number of passages in which *seven* obols are clearly represented as equivalent to one drachma. In l. 417 the total wages of three labourers at seven obols each are given as 3 drachmas. In l. 554 the addition of 4 dr. and 13 obols is given as 5 dr. 6 ob. In l. 555 eleven obols are represented as equivalent to 1 dr. 4 ob. In l. 558 eighteen obols are represented as equivalent to 2 dr. 4 ob. It is of course certain that the universal proportion, both in the silver and in the copper currency, was 6 obols to one drachma, and this rate is observed in the calculations of the present document. The explanation of the apparent exception is to be found in the ratio of 24 silver obols to 28 (sometimes 29; cf. ll. 167, 530) copper obols which is mentioned in the statements of total expenditure at the end of each month. This is equivalent to a ratio of 6:7; and hence it appears that in the passages under notice we are dealing with a transference from copper to silver obols. Seven copper obols were approximately equivalent

to six silver obols or one silver drachma; and it is clear that in all these cases the sum first stated is in copper obols, and that it is converted in the totals to silver drachmas and obols. In the four later passages this is quite clear, since in l. 417 the 3 dr. of the total are silver, as appears from a comparison of the items of this column with the totals in l. 438; and the three other passages occur in a column of receipts, in which all the items are given in silver. In the present passage, however, the total is reckoned as copper in the statement at the foot of the column; but this is a mistake, for a tick has been placed against the item, to show that it is silver, but so faint that the writer might easily have overlooked it in adding up the column. Some other instances are found in Pap. cxxxi.\* ll. 54, 57, 74.

Line 385. σαροννυ(ν)τες: evidently connected with σάρον, σάιρω.



(Col. 18.)

|     |    |                                                                                                                                  |           |
|-----|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
|     |    | παί <sup>δ</sup> προτεμν <sup>ο</sup> προ τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπελο <sup>τ</sup> συν τ <sup>οι</sup> παρ <sup>η</sup>                | f         |
|     |    | εκφερ <sup>ο</sup> ἀμπελεινίξιν <sup>α</sup> ἀπο των ἀνδ <sup>η</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> δ τ <sup>ρ</sup> = \                      | < α f     |
| 395 | κβ | μισ <sup>θ</sup> παιδιον προτε <sup>ε</sup> προ [τ <sup>ω</sup> ] ἀμπελουρ <sup>η</sup> συν τ <sup>οι</sup> παρ <sup>η</sup>     | f         |
|     |    | μισ <sup>θ</sup> ἄλλου εργατου δεσ[μεν]οντ <sup>ο</sup> ἀγκαλας                                                                  | f         |
|     |    | ολοτι <sup>α</sup> καλαμ <sup>ο</sup> τωμ <sup>ε</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> δ τ <sup>ρ</sup> =                                       | < α =     |
|     |    | τοις ἀμπελουργοις λοι <sup>η</sup> τιμ <sup>η</sup> ζυτ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ε</sup> α Επι <sup>ν</sup> εἰ                        | — \       |
|     | κγ | μισ <sup>θ</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> προτεμν <sup>ο</sup> προ τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπε <sup>λ</sup> συν τ <sup>οι</sup> παρ <sup>η</sup> | f         |
| 400 |    | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φύλλα παί <sup>δ</sup> ε τ <sup>ρ</sup> =                                                                   | < α f     |
|     | κδ | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εἰς τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> των [ᾱ] ουλη <sup>η</sup> β Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β                        | < β       |
|     |    | μισ <sup>θ</sup> εργατου χωφορ <sup>ο</sup> ε[ις] υδραγωγ <sup>ο</sup>                                                           | f         |
|     |    | παιδιωι προτε <sup>ε</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> [χ <sup>ω</sup> ] προ τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπε <sup>λ</sup>                              | f         |
|     |    | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φύλλα παί <sup>δ</sup> δ [τ <sup>ρ</sup> =]                                                                 | < α =     |
| 405 | κε | Επιμαχωι σοι                                                                                                                     | αργ̄ < ιβ |
|     |    | Αρποχρα ιερει μισ <sup>θ</sup> εργ̄ κοπτοιτ <sup>ο</sup> καλαμ <sup>ο</sup> ου                                                   |           |
|     |    | τον λογον προς αυτον Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> συνιηρε                                                                                  | f         |
|     |    | σκα <sup>λ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> κοσκιω <sup>ε</sup> κοπρ <sup>ο</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> κωμαστ <sup>η</sup>                      |           |
|     |    | ωστε εἰς τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> των [ᾱ] ου <sup>λ</sup> β Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β                                       |           |
| 410 |    | ων α f α <sup>λ</sup> α f                                                                                                        | < α f     |
|     |    | μισ <sup>θ</sup> παιδιου οντος εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> προτε <sup>ε</sup>                                            | f         |
|     |    | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φύλλα παί <sup>δ</sup> ε [τ <sup>ρ</sup> ] =                                                                | < α f     |
|     | κς | Παποντωτι αρχονη <sup>λ</sup> μισ <sup>θ</sup> ον <sup>ω</sup> αιροντ <sup>ω</sup>                                               |           |
|     |    | κοπρον εἰς τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> τω[ν ᾱ ο]υλη <sup>η</sup> β σα <sup>κ</sup> ξβ                                                 | < δ       |
| 415 |    | αν <sup>η</sup> αργ̄ < ις κ <sup>ι</sup> χ <sup>λ</sup> < ις                                                                     |           |

(Col. 19.)

|     |    |                                                                                                                                                  |                                   |
|-----|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|     |    | κοσκιεν <sup>ο</sup> κοπρ <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> επιτι <sup>ο</sup> τοις ονοις εργ̄ β                                                       | χ <sup>λ</sup> < β                |
|     |    | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εἰς τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> των ᾱ ου <sup>λ</sup> β Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> γ τ <sup>ρ</sup> ο <sup>δ</sup> ζ            | < γ                               |
|     |    | παιδιωι οντι εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> προτε <sup>ε</sup> προ τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπε <sup>λ</sup>                                         | f                                 |
|     |    | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φύλλα παί <sup>δ</sup> γ τ <sup>ρ</sup> =                                                                                   | χ <sup>λ</sup> < α                |
| 420 | κζ | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εἰς τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> τω <sup>η</sup> ᾱ ουλ <sup>η</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> γ                                 | < γ                               |
|     |    | σκορ <sup>η</sup> την κοπρ <sup>ο</sup> εν ταις αυταις αρουρ <sup>η</sup> εργ̄ β τ <sup>ρ</sup> f                                                | < α f                             |
|     |    | Πεμουτι μισ <sup>θ</sup> κς ἀμπελοτεμοντι                                                                                                        | ο <sup>δ</sup> s χ <sup>λ</sup> α |
|     |    | Θαλλουσηι τιμ <sup>η</sup> φακου ορνίξι κ <sup>ι</sup> περισ <sup>τ</sup> σ <sup>ι</sup>                                                         | < α =                             |
|     |    | παιδιωι προτεμ[ν <sup>ο</sup> ] εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χ <sup>ω</sup> πρ <sup>ο</sup> τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπε <sup>λ</sup>                                | f                                 |
| 425 |    | εκφερ <sup>ο</sup> ἀπο τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀνδ <sup>η</sup> αμ <sup>η</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> δ τ <sup>ρ</sup> = \ | < α f                             |
|     |    | εργατηι δεσμευοντι ἀγκαλας                                                                                                                       | f                                 |
|     | κη | Βελλητι ἀμπελουρ <sup>η</sup> Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ειποντ <sup>ο</sup>                                                                            | < δ                               |
|     |    | μισ <sup>θ</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> προτεμν <sup>ο</sup> προ τ <sup>ω</sup> ἀμπελουρ <sup>η</sup>                                                  | f                                 |
|     |    | εκφερ <sup>ο</sup> ἀπο των ἀνδ <sup>η</sup> ἀμπε <sup>λ</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φύλλα                                          |                                   |
| 430 |    | εως οψι <sup>η</sup> παί <sup>δ</sup> γ τ <sup>ρ</sup> = \                                                                                       | < α — \                           |

|                           |                                                                                     |                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
|                           | αντλ° εις τον σπορ° τω' $\bar{a}$ ουλ <sup>β</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> γ | $\angle \gamma$ |
|                           | κ' βοτανις προ του υδατος παις α                                                    | $= \angle$      |
|                           | μισ° εργατου κοβαλεοντ° αχυρ° απο της επαν <sup>λ</sup> εις οι <sup>κ</sup>         | f               |
| $\overline{\kappa\theta}$ | εργατην ετοιμαζοντι κηλωνεια τωμε°                                                  |                 |
| 435                       | συν Ψενσνει συν μετο <sup>κ</sup>                                                   | f               |
|                           | προτε <sup>κ</sup> ομοι° εν τ° χωρι° παις α                                         | f               |
|                           | δεσμευων αγκαλας εν τ° χωρι° ερ $\bar{\gamma}$ α                                    | f               |
|                           | αν <sup>η</sup> αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ ιγ κ' χ <sup>λ</sup> $\angle$ ιε f       |                 |

(Col. 20.)

|                 |                                                                                                         |                                |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                 | αντλ° εις τον σπορ° τω' $\bar{a}$ ουλη <sup>μ</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> γ                    | $\angle \gamma$                |
| 440             | βοτανις προ του υδατος παις α                                                                           | $= \angle$                     |
|                 | βοτανις εν τ° φακωι Ινδι° $\bar{\eta}$ δ παιδ° ζ τ' = $\angle$                                          | $\angle \beta$ f $\angle$      |
| $\bar{\lambda}$ | αντλ° εις τον σπορ° τω' $\bar{a}$ ουλ <sup>η</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> γ                     | χ <sup>λ</sup> $\angle \gamma$ |
|                 | βοτανις εν τ° σπορ° προ τ° υδατ° παις α                                                                 | $= \angle$                     |
|                 | βοτανις εν τ° φακωι Ινδι° $\bar{\eta}$ δ παιδ° θ τ' = $\angle$ α <sup>λ</sup> β = $\angle$ δ = $\angle$ |                                |
| 445             | αν <sup>η</sup> αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ γ κ' χ <sup>λ</sup> $\angle$ ια —                            |                                |

/ ανηλωμ<sup>λ</sup> Τυβι των απο ις εως  $\bar{\lambda}$  του  $\bar{\delta}$  μηνος  
 αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $\angle$  ξδ — κ' χ<sup>λ</sup>  $\angle$  νη = αι αρ $\bar{\gamma}$  ως τ°  $\angle$  δ οβο<sup>λ</sup> κη  
 αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $\angle$  ν / επι το  $\bar{\delta}$  ανη<sup>λ</sup> αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $\angle$  ριδ — αν<sup>θ</sup> λημμ<sup>λ</sup>  
 αρ $\bar{\gamma}$   $\angle$  ριε κατα<sup>λ</sup> εις Μεχειρ οβο<sup>λ</sup> ε

(Col. 21.)

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                               |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 450                    | Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος<br>Ονεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος Μεχειρ<br>ων λημμ <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                                                                          |                                                               |
|                        | $\bar{a}$ εγ λογου λημματος του Τυβι                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | οβο <sup>λ</sup> ε                                            |
|                        | $\bar{\beta}$ τιμ <sup>η</sup> $\bar{\tau}$ — β εκ $\angle$ ια                                                                                                                                                                                               | αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ κβ                                 |
| 455                    | $\bar{\theta}$ τιμ <sup>η</sup> $\bar{\tau}$ — δ πεπραμεν° εις δα <sup>λ</sup> Επιμα <sup>κ</sup> ει <sup>λ</sup><br>Ακοη <sup>μ</sup> Μεγ <sup>κ</sup> τιμ <sup>η</sup> της διατετακ <sup>θ</sup> αυτ°<br>δι <sup>λ</sup> ημων προς Ευθηνιαν $\bar{\tau}$ α | αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ μδ<br>αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ η |
|                        | Επιμαχ° τας Αμβρυ° κη <sup>λ</sup> εις λογ° σκαφήτ°<br>του χωριου επι τ <sup>η</sup> $\bar{\epsilon}$                                                                                                                                                        | $\angle$ δ                                                    |
| 460                    | Επιμαχ° υπαγ° εις Ερμου <sup>λ</sup> επι τ <sup>η</sup> $\bar{\zeta}$ του Με <sup>κ</sup>                                                                                                                                                                    | αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ κ                                  |
| $\bar{\iota}\gamma$    | Επιμαχ° πρωιας απο των παραιοντ° απο<br>Ιβιωνι τε° απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> οινου                                                                                                                                                                                | αρ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\angle$ η                                  |
| $\bar{\iota}\delta$    | Επιμαχ° ομοιως εις δα <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | $\angle$ δ                                                    |
| $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ | Επιμαχ° ομοιως αλλας                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | $\angle$ δ                                                    |

Line 457. *προς Ευθηνιαν*: Euthenia was the personification of abundance, and was regarded as the consort of Nilus. She appears frequently on Alexandrian coins. Presumably this

entry refers to an offering to the goddess which the person here mentioned was required to make.

|     |                             |                                                                                                          |                                    |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 465 | $\overline{\iota\zeta}$     | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εις δα <sup>1</sup>                                                | $αρ\overline{\gamma} < \iota\beta$ |
|     | $\overline{\iota\eta}$      | του $\overline{5}$ Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup>                                                 | $< \eta$                           |
|     | $\overline{\iota\theta}$    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> κερμ <sup>1</sup>              | $< \delta$                         |
|     | $\overline{\kappa}$         | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> α <sup>1</sup>                                                     | $αρ\overline{\gamma} < \iota\beta$ |
|     | $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> πρ <sup>ω</sup> $< \delta$ κ <sup>1</sup> τας φεβν <sup>1</sup> νεβουρ <sup>10</sup> |                                    |
| 470 |                             | αντλ <sup>1</sup> ηδν <sup>1</sup> $< \delta$                                                            | $αρ\overline{\gamma} < \eta$       |
|     | $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> δι <sup>1</sup> Αφροδειτ <sup>ο</sup> θυγ <sup>1</sup>                               | $< \delta$                         |
|     | $\overline{\kappa\theta}$   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> δι <sup>1</sup> Αφροδειτ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup>                              | $< \delta$                         |

/ λημμ<sup>1</sup> του μ<sup>1</sup> Μεχ<sup>ε</sup> αρ $\overline{\gamma}$   $< \rho\xi\varsigma$  f

(Col. 22.)

|     |                     |                                                                                                                                       |                         |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|     |                     | αφ <sup>1</sup> ων ανη <sup>1</sup> τω $\overline{5}$ μηνι M[εχειρ]                                                                   |                         |
| 475 | $\overline{\alpha}$ | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εσχ <sup>ατ</sup> <sup>1</sup> ημερ <sup>1</sup> εις τ <sup>ο</sup>                               |                         |
|     |                     | ουλημι <sup>ο</sup> Φιβις κ <sup>1</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ δ                                                                     | [ $< \delta$ ]          |
|     |                     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> αλλου παιδιου βοτανι <sup>ς</sup> κ <sup>1</sup> . . . .                                                             | [f]                     |
|     | $\overline{\beta}$  | ηδν <sup>1</sup> αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εις τον $\overline{\tau}$ σπορ <sup>ο</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>1</sup> [β]                     | [ $< \beta$ ]           |
|     |                     | βοτανι <sup>ς</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> φακωι <sup>1</sup> Ινδ <sup>1</sup> $\overline{\psi}$ δ [ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ ]               |                         |
| 480 |                     | β τ <sup>1</sup> f α <sup>1</sup> $\varsigma$ τ <sup>1</sup> = $\cup$                                                                 | [ $< \gamma$ f]         |
|     |                     | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> παι <sup>δ</sup> [γ τ <sup>1</sup> =]                                  | [ $< \alpha$ ]          |
|     |                     | μισ <sup>ο</sup> ον <sup>ο</sup> γ απενεγκαντ <sup>ω</sup> εις Ιβ                                                                     |                         |
|     |                     | ιουτι οιν <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ε</sup> ιβ εκ f                                                                                         | [ $< \alpha$ f]         |
|     |                     | Αμβρυων εστ <sup>1</sup> εν τω <sup>1</sup> ετοιμα <sup>ς</sup>                                                                       |                         |
| 485 |                     | συν Ψενσπει συν Πε <sup>ω</sup>                                                                                                       |                         |
|     | $\overline{\gamma}$ | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα εν τ <sup>ω</sup> χωρι <sup>ω</sup> παι <sup>δ</sup> [γ τ <sup>1</sup> =]                                  | [ $< \alpha$ ]          |
|     |                     | βοτανι <sup>ς</sup> ομ <sup>ω</sup> εν τ <sup>ω</sup> φακ <sup>ω</sup> Ιν <sup>δ</sup> $\overline{\psi}$ δ [ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ η] |                         |
|     |                     | ων α f α <sup>1</sup> $\zeta$ τ <sup>1</sup> = $\cup$                                                                                 | [ $< \gamma$ f $\cup$ ] |
|     |                     | ηδν <sup>1</sup> αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εις τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>1</sup> β                                         | [ $< \beta$ ]           |
| 490 |                     | τωμ <sup>1</sup> αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εις τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ γ                                                 | [ $< \gamma$ ]          |
|     |                     | Αμβρυων τε <sup>1</sup> τεγκοσ <sup>1</sup>                                                                                           |                         |
|     | $\overline{\delta}$ | αντλ <sup>ο</sup> εις τον σπορ <sup>ο</sup> ηδν <sup>1</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>1</sup> [β]                                       | [ $< \beta$ ]           |
|     |                     | εκφερ <sup>ο</sup> αμπε <sup>1</sup> απο των ανδ <sup>1</sup> του . . . . [κ <sup>1</sup> ]                                           |                         |
|     |                     | σαροννυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα παι <sup>δ</sup> ε τ <sup>1</sup> = $\cup$                                                                 | [ $< \beta$ $\cup$ ]    |
| 495 |                     | κυκλευτ <sup>1</sup> κυκλευοντι συν τ <sup>ω</sup> μ[ηχ <sup>1</sup> ]                                                                | [f]                     |

αν<sup>1</sup> χ<sup>1</sup>  $< \kappa\zeta$

(Col. 23.)

θερι<sup>ς</sup> τοι<sup>ν</sup> σπορ<sup>ο</sup> τω<sup>1</sup>  $\overline{\alpha}$  τρυχ<sup>1</sup>  $\overline{\psi}$  ε κατα μ[ε<sup>1</sup> Δη]<sup>μ</sup><sup>1</sup>

Παχρ<sup>1</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$   $\varsigma$  τ<sup>1</sup> = χωρις στα<sup>1</sup> ο<sup>β</sup> ιβ

το [ $\cup$ ] χ<sup>1</sup>  $< \alpha$

Line 474. This is the last column on this strip of papyrus, and the ends of the lines, containing the figures of the sunis expended, have been lost, but can be supplied with fair certainty.

Line 497. A wide interval extends between the end of the

preceding column and the beginning of this. The last column broke off with the 4th of Mecheir; this resumes within a few days of the end of Pharmouthi, the whole of the intervening month of Phamenoth being lost. The beginning of the present

500 [κς] θερι<sup>ο</sup> τὸν σπορ<sup>ο</sup> ἡδυ<sup>λ</sup> κ' ἐργ<sup>χ</sup> ε τ' = χ<sup>ω</sup> στα<sup>χ</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < α f  
 ἡ αμαξα ἡμων δι<sup>λ</sup> Παποντ<sup>ω</sup> Αρπμουιτ<sup>ο</sup> το[υ μ]ισ  
 θασαμ<sup>ε</sup> αυτ<sup>ο</sup> εκωβ<sup>λ</sup> εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> ε  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βοων ζ<sup>ε</sup> α αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> εν τ<sup>ῳ</sup> Ε αλ<sup>ω</sup> ἡδυ<sup>λ</sup> < α f  
 Φιβις αλ<sup>ο</sup> α συν αλλ<sup>ω</sup> παιδιωι [
 κυκλευτ<sup>ι</sup> κυκλευοντι το οργ<sup>ω</sup> f  
 505 [κζ] [θ]ερι<sup>ς</sup> ομοι<sup>ο</sup> εν ταις α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> κατα μετο<sup>χ</sup> Δημ<sup>ι</sup>  
 Παχρ<sup>λ</sup> ἐργ<sup>ω</sup> θ τ' = χωρις στα<sup>χ</sup> < α f  
 βλαστολογ<sup>ο</sup> εν τ<sup>ῳ</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> α γ τ[ f ] β f  
 κυκλευτ<sup>ι</sup> κυκλευοντι το οργ<sup>ω</sup> συν τ<sup>ῳ</sup> μη<sup>χ</sup> f  
 Φιβις κοβ<sup>λ</sup> αχυρ<sup>ο</sup> εις το εν οικ<sup>ῳ</sup> βαλ<sup>ο</sup> . .  
 510 [κη] [θ]ερι<sup>ς</sup> ομοι<sup>ο</sup> τον σπορ<sup>ο</sup> τω<sup>ι</sup> α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> κατα μετο<sup>χ</sup>  
 Δημητρ<sup>ο</sup> Παχρ<sup>λ</sup> ἐργ<sup>ω</sup> δ τ' = απο ο<sup>ς</sup> η το [∪] f  
 [βλ]αστολογ<sup>ο</sup> εν τ<sup>ῳ</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>ῳ</sup> κζ κατα πλ<sup>λ</sup>  
 [Α]μβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ' ἐργ<sup>ω</sup> β τ' f [
 [κθ] μισ<sup>ο</sup> βοος αλοουσ<sup>ι</sup> εις τ . . . . . [f]  
 515 δι<sup>λ</sup> Φιβιος εως μεσυμβ<sup>ε</sup>  
 [Α]μβρυων ακο<sup>λ</sup> τωι οργ<sup>ω</sup>  
 [λ] [α]μαξαι δυο κοβ<sup>λ</sup> τα δραγμ<sup>λ</sup> των  
 α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup> εις τ<sup>ῳ</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> ιβ δι<sup>λ</sup> μιν Δη[μ<sup>ι</sup>]  
 [Π]αχρ<sup>λ</sup> αμαξαν μιαν κ' δι<sup>λ</sup> Παποντωτ<sup>ο</sup>  
 520 [Α]ρπμουιτ<sup>ο</sup> η ἡμων  
 αν<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < ιγ f  
 (Col. 24.)  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ω</sup> γ προπατουιτ<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>ῳ</sup> . . . [τω<sup>ι</sup>] α τρυχ<sup>λ</sup>  
 κατα μετο<sup>χ</sup> Δημ<sup>ι</sup> τ' f το ∪ < α-∪  
 Φιβις αλ<sup>ο</sup> α συν Ευμεν<sup>ι</sup> Δημητρ[ι<sup>ο</sup>]  
 525 Δημητρ<sup>ο</sup> επιδι<sup>δ</sup> δραγμ<sup>λ</sup> ταις απ . . .  
 Αμβρυων ακο<sup>λ</sup> τωι οργ<sup>ω</sup>  
 αν<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>λ</sup> < α-∪  
 / αν<sup>η</sup> του μηνος Φαρμουθι αργ<sup>ω</sup> < π[ζ = κ' χ<sup>λ</sup>]  
 < σλα f ων εξ οβο<sup>λ</sup> κη χ<sup>λ</sup> < ξη f ∪ α[ι αργ<sup>ω</sup> < υθ] κ'  
 530 εξ ο<sup>ς</sup> κθ χ<sup>λ</sup> < ρξγ αι αργ<sup>ω</sup> < ρλε- / αργ < [ρςδ-] το'

column is lost also, containing the dates, so that the exact day at which the present column begins is uncertain. This lacuna, which extends over a space of twelve or fourteen columns, does not correspond with any similar hiatus in the Aristotle on the *verso*, and it must be presumed that the papyrus of this portion was in such a state that the writer of the Aristotle avoided using it. The part of Aristotle on the *verso* of the strip of papyrus which begins here is that contained in chapters 46 to 63 of the published edition; it is written in the same direction as the

writing on the *recto*, whereas in the preceding rolls it was written in the contrary direction, so that the beginning of the Aristotle on the *verso* was at the back of the end of the accounts on the *recto*.

Line 501. εἰς τὰ λωαγωε: i.e. εἰς τὴν ἄλων (or ἄλωνα) ἀγωγή ἐ'.

Lines 529, 530. It is noticeable that in this month the ratio of silver to copper is calculated for a portion of the total amount at 24 : 28, and for the rest at 24 : 29 ; but no reason is given for the variety.



ανη<sup>λ</sup> επι το 5 αρ̄γ < σπα<sup>ρ</sup> αν<sup>ο</sup> λημ<sup>μ</sup><sup>λ</sup>  
 του 5 μ<sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ < σλη<sup>ρ</sup> πλειωι υπ[ερ δα<sup>ρ</sup>]  
 εις Παχων α αρ̄γ < μγ

(Col. 25.)

|                                       |                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος καισαρος |                                                                                                                                         |
| Ονεσπασιανου σεβαστου μηνος Παχων     |                                                                                                                                         |
| ων λημ <sup>μ</sup> <sup>λ</sup>      |                                                                                                                                         |
| 535 β̄                                | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup> < δ κ <sup>ι</sup> τας Φι <sup>β</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> βο <sup>ω</sup> < δ / < η            |
| γ̄                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως οψι <sup>λ</sup> < δ                                                                                         |
| δ̄                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως αλλας < δ                                                                                                    |
| 540 ε̄                                | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ο[μοιω]ς < δ κ <sup>ι</sup> λοι <sup>η</sup> τιμ <sup>η</sup> ου <sup>ο</sup> ου                                    |
|                                       | ηγορ <sup>λ</sup> . . . . . κωμογρ <sup>λ</sup> < α / < ε                                                                               |
| ζ̄                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως αλλας < δ                                                                                                    |
| η̄                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> τας Φι <sup>β</sup> εις μισ <sup>ο</sup> βοων < δ                                                                   |
| θ̄                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως αλλας < δ                                                                                                    |
| 545 θ̄                                | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> απο < δ ων δεδω <sup>ς</sup> Πολυ <sup>δ</sup> Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> ονη <sup>λ</sup>                                  |
|                                       | μισ <sup>ο</sup> ον <sup>ο</sup> καθιστωντ <sup>ο</sup> Επι <sup>μ</sup> εις Ερμου <sup>η</sup> < γ                                     |
|                                       | μεθ <sup>α</sup> ς εσ <sup>χ</sup> < δ την λοιπην < α                                                                                   |
| ῑ                                    | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> υπαγοντ <sup>ο</sup> εις Ερμου <sup>η</sup> < ιβ                                                                    |
| ιβ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> δι <sup>λ</sup> Αφροδειτ <sup>ο</sup> θυγ <sup>η</sup> < δ                                                          |
| 550 ιγ̄                               | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως οψι <sup>λ</sup> < δ                                                                                         |
| ιδ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως τας Φι <sup>β</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> βο <sup>ω</sup> < η                                                     |
| ιζ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως τας Φιβει < [η]                                                                                              |
|                                       | / ουτος απο Ιβιωνι Τε <sup>ω</sup> απο τιμ <sup>η</sup> ου[ου] < η                                                                      |
| ιθ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> < δ κ <sup>ι</sup> τους Φι <sup>β</sup> κατα με . . ο <sup>β</sup> ιγ / < ε ο <sup>β</sup> s                        |
| 555 κᾱ                               | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> < δ α <sup>λ</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ια < α f / < ε f                                                                  |
| κβ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> οψι <sup>λ</sup> εις τ <sup>η</sup> κγ < η                                                                          |
| κδ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως εις δαπαν <sup>η</sup> αρ̄γ < ιβ                                                                             |
| κε̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> δι <sup>λ</sup> Θαλλουσι <sup>η</sup> τους Φι <sup>β</sup> μισ <sup>ο</sup> βο <sup>ω</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ιη < β f |
| κζ̄                                   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοιως τας Φι <sup>β</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> < δ                                                                       |
| 560 κθ̄                               | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> δι <sup>λ</sup> Αμβρυοντ <sup>ο</sup> κη <sup>η</sup> < δ                                         |

/ λημ<sup>μ</sup><sup>λ</sup> του μ<sup>η</sup> Παχ<sup>ω</sup> αρ̄γ < ρκ

(Col. 26.)

αφ ων [α]νη<sup>λ</sup> τω 5 μηνι Παχων  
 εγ λογου πλειωι υπερ δαπαν<sup>η</sup> Φαρμ<sup>ο</sup> [αρ̄γ < μγ]  
 ᾱ θεριζ<sup>ο</sup> τον Ξ σπορ<sup>ο</sup> ηδυν<sup>λ</sup> ερ̄γ β τ<sup>η</sup> = χ<sup>ω</sup> [στα<sup>λ</sup>] [f]

Line 554. ο<sup>β</sup> ιγ : cf. note on l. 373.

Line 562. The latter part of the lines at the beginning of this column is lost in a large lacuna. The photographic plate of this column does not quite accurately represent its present con-

dition, as a strip containing the ends of the lines in the lower portion of the column had not been assigned to its proper position when the photograph was taken.

- 565 αμαξαι ομ<sup>οι</sup> δυο κοβ<sup>ι</sup> δραγμ<sup>ι</sup> απο τω<sup>ι</sup> . . . . .  
 εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> ι δι<sup>ι</sup> μεν Δημ<sup>ι</sup> Παχρ<sup>ι</sup>  
 κ<sup>ι</sup> δι<sup>ι</sup> Παποντ<sup>ο</sup> Αρπμουιτ<sup>ο</sup> η [ημων]  
 ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> ομοι<sup>οι</sup> δει<sup>ι</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> α  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ο</sup> δεκα προπατ<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>ο</sup> . . . . .  
 570 τρυχ<sup>ι</sup> κατα<sup>ι</sup> Δημ<sup>ι</sup> Παχρ<sup>ι</sup> τ<sup>ο</sup> f ο<sup>ι</sup> ι . < α f  
 Φιβις αλ<sup>ω</sup> α συν Ευμεν<sup>ι</sup>  
 Δημητρ<sup>ι</sup> επιδι<sup>ο</sup> δραγμ<sup>ι</sup> ταις αμα<sup>ι</sup>  
 κυκλευτ<sup>ι</sup> κυκλευ<sup>ο</sup> το ορ<sup>γ</sup> f  
 Αμβρυ<sup>ο</sup> εστ<sup>ο</sup> περι τον οικο<sup>ο</sup> οικο<sup>ο</sup> το τει<sup>ο</sup>  
 575 του ηλιαστηριου  
 β μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ο</sup> ζ<sup>ε</sup> α αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> εις τ<sup>ο</sup> ε αλ<sup>ω</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> < α f  
 Αμβρυων ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι ορ<sup>γ</sup>  
 γ θεριζ<sup>ο</sup> ομοι<sup>οι</sup> εν ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> ερ<sup>γ</sup> ι τ<sup>ο</sup> = χ<sup>ι</sup> < γ =  
 η αμαξα ημων δι<sup>ι</sup> Παποντ<sup>ο</sup> Αρπμ[ουιτ<sup>ο</sup>]  
 580 του μισθωσαμεν<sup>ο</sup> αυτ<sup>ο</sup> εκοβ<sup>ι</sup> απο τ<sup>ο</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup>  
 εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> ε  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ο</sup> γ προπατοντ<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>ο</sup> ε αλ<sup>ω</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> < β f  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> εργατου αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> συν Φι<sup>ο</sup> f  
 Αμβρυων ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι ορ<sup>γ</sup>  
 585 δ αμαξα ημων δι<sup>ι</sup> Παποντ<sup>ο</sup> Αρπμουιτ<sup>ο</sup>  
 εκοβ<sup>ι</sup> δραγμ<sup>ι</sup> απο τ<sup>ο</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> γ  
 ανη<sup>ι</sup> αρ<sup>γ</sup> < μγ κ<sup>ι</sup> χ<sup>ι</sup> < ια -
- (Col. 27.)  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ο</sup> γ προπατ<sup>ο</sup> [επι τ<sup>ο</sup>] ε αλ<sup>ω</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> τ<sup>ο</sup> f < β f  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> εργατου αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> συν] Φ[ι]βει [f]  
 590 [Α]μβρυων ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι [ορ<sup>γ</sup>]  
 [ε] [θ]ερι<sup>ο</sup> εν ταις α ολυ . . . β ερ<sup>γ</sup> ε τ<sup>ο</sup> = χ<sup>ι</sup> < β  
 μισ<sup>ο</sup> βοων ζ<sup>ε</sup> α αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> επι τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> < α f  
 [Φι]βις αλ<sup>ω</sup> α  
 [Αμβρ]υων ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι ορ[γ]  
 595 [ε] [μισ<sup>ο</sup> ονω]ν τεσσαρ<sup>ο</sup> [κοβ<sup>ι</sup>] δραγμ<sup>ι</sup> υ<sup>ι</sup> α ου<sup>ι</sup>  
 αλ<sup>ω</sup> εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> . . . μαν<sup>ο</sup> ιβ<sup>ο</sup> τ<sup>ο</sup> - χ<sup>ι</sup> < γ  
 . . απ . . τ<sup>ο</sup> . . αγ<sup>ω</sup> τ<sup>ο</sup> f < β f  
 [Αμβρ]υων ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι [ορ<sup>γ</sup>]  
 [ε] [μισ<sup>ο</sup>] ον<sup>ω</sup> ε κοβαλευ[οντ<sup>ο</sup> αγκα]λας απο του  
 600 [ηδυ<sup>ι</sup>] εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> . . . [μαν<sup>ο</sup> λε] τ<sup>ο</sup> = / χ<sup>ι</sup> < ια f  
 μι[σ<sup>ο</sup>] βο[ω]ν τρι<sup>ο</sup> αλοουσ<sup>ω</sup> . . . . . δι<sup>ι</sup> Φι<sup>ο</sup> τ<sup>ο</sup> f < β f  
 Αμβρυ<sup>ο</sup> ακο<sup>ι</sup> τωι [ορ<sup>γ</sup> σ]υν τ<sup>ο</sup> μη<sup>ο</sup>  
 η μισ<sup>ο</sup> οιν<sup>ω</sup> ιβ<sup>ο</sup> κοβαλε[υοντ<sup>ο</sup>] αγκα<sup>ι</sup> απο τ<sup>ο</sup>  
 ηδυ<sup>ι</sup> εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> μαν<sup>ο</sup> [λ τ<sup>ο</sup>] = / χ<sup>ι</sup> < ι

- 605      μισ<sup>ο</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> δεκα αλο[ωντ<sup>ω</sup>] εις τ<sup>ο</sup> αυτ<sup>ο</sup>  
           χορτοτη<sup>α</sup> εως οψι<sup>α</sup> . . . δι<sup>α</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup>      < γ =  
           Αμβρυων ακο<sup>α</sup> τωι [οργ<sup>ω</sup>]  
           ο φυλαξ ηδυ<sup>α</sup> εξη . . . . . σ<sup>η</sup>  
     θ      Καστορι πανσενλαν<sup>α</sup> . . . τιμ<sup>η</sup> τρι<sup>α</sup>  
 610      σεβενυ<sup>ω</sup> δυο εις την . . . < ε μεθ  
           εσχ<sup>ε</sup> παρ αυτ<sup>ο</sup> Επιμα[χ<sup>ο</sup> < δ] την λου<sup>ι</sup>      αργ<sup>ω</sup> < α  
                                          αυ<sup>η</sup> αργ<sup>ω</sup> < α κ<sup>ι</sup> χ[<sup>α</sup> <] λθ f
- (Col. 28.)
- Φιβις κοβαλευει αχυρ<sup>ο</sup> εις οι[κον τωι] βα<sup>α</sup>  
           Αμβρυων ακο<sup>α</sup> τωι οργ<sup>ω</sup>  
 615      ι      η αμαξα Ηφαιστ<sup>ο</sup> Πανται<sup>ο</sup> [ε]κοβ<sup>α</sup> αγκα<sup>α</sup> απο  
           του ιπποστρ<sup>α</sup> εις τ<sup>α</sup> αλ<sup>ω</sup> αγ<sup>ω</sup> s τον δε μισθον  
           εξει εν κρι<sup>ο</sup> ωστ<sup>α</sup> α . . . . . κρι<sup>ο</sup>  
           μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ω</sup> γ αλωωντ<sup>ω</sup> επι<sup>τ</sup> χ . . . . . τ' f      < β f  
           αλοητ<sup>η</sup> αλωωντι συν Φι<sup>β</sup>      f  
 620      κυκλευτ<sup>η</sup> κυκλευ<sup>ο</sup> το οργ<sup>ω</sup> [συν] τ<sup>ω</sup> μη<sup>α</sup>      f  
           Αμβρυων εστ<sup>ι</sup> περι τας φ . . . ως εις ανα  
           ψησμ<sup>ο</sup> του λακκ<sup>ο</sup> απη<sup>α</sup> χω . . .  
     ia      μισ<sup>ο</sup> αμαξ<sup>ω</sup> δυο κοβαλευ[ουσ<sup>ω</sup>] ομοι<sup>ω</sup> αγκα<sup>α</sup>  
           εκ του ιπποστρ<sup>α</sup> κ<sup>α</sup> εις τ<sup>α</sup> α[λ<sup>ω</sup>] αγ<sup>ω</sup> ιβ εκ < ε      αργ<sup>ω</sup> < ι  
 625      μισ<sup>ο</sup> βο<sup>ω</sup> δεκα αλοουσ<sup>η</sup> [ει]s τον χορτ<sup>ο</sup> τ' f      < γ =  
           μισ<sup>ο</sup> παιδιον αλωωντ<sup>ο</sup> μετα Φιβι<sup>ο</sup>      = \
- ib      μισ<sup>ο</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> ον<sup>ω</sup> ε κοβαλευ[οντ<sup>ω</sup>] τας επιλοι<sup>ι</sup>  
           αγκαλας εκ του ιπποστρ<sup>α</sup> εις . . . ν<sup>ε</sup> μαν<sup>δ</sup> ε τ' - \      < α - \
- μισ<sup>ο</sup> βοων ζ<sup>ε</sup> α αλωωντος εις τον χορτ<sup>ο</sup> δι<sup>α</sup> Φι<sup>β</sup>      < α f
- 630      Αμβρυων κη<sup>ι</sup> ακο<sup>α</sup> τωι οργ<sup>ω</sup>  
     iy      αναψωντ<sup>ε</sup> το εντος φρεαρ το . . . Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> α<sup>α</sup> δ τ' f      < β  
           μισ<sup>ο</sup> κυκλευτου κυκλευοντ<sup>ο</sup> συν τ<sup>ω</sup> μηχ<sup>α</sup> το οργ<sup>ω</sup>      f
- id      αναψωντ<sup>ε</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> το απο βορ[εου] του λακκ<sup>ο</sup> διωρνη<sup>ι</sup>  
           απη<sup>α</sup> χωρι<sup>ο</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> κ<sup>ι</sup> εργ<sup>ω</sup> ια τ' [f]      χ<sup>α</sup> < ε f
- 635      κυκλευτ<sup>η</sup> κυκλευοντι το ο[ργ<sup>ω</sup>] συν τ<sup>ω</sup> μη<sup>α</sup>      f  
     ie      αναψωντ<sup>ε</sup> ομοι<sup>ω</sup> το αυτο δι[ωρ]νη<sup>ι</sup> Αμβρυ<sup>ω</sup> α<sup>α</sup> η τ' f      < δ
- αυη<sup>α</sup> αργ<sup>ω</sup> < ι κ<sup>ι</sup> [χ<sup>α</sup>] < κβ f

Line 637. Part of another column is visible following this one, which carries the dates down to the 20th of the month; but only the first few letters and a few words in the middle of

each line remain. The rest of the papyrus has been torn away, not having been required for the Aristotle.

## PAPYRUS CXXXI\*.—78 A.D.

NO additional introduction is required for this document. It contains the accounts of the farm with which we have been dealing for a portion of the preceding year, but they are on a much less extended scale than those which have just been given. The papyrus is much mutilated, and a whole column is lost in the middle; but the writing on the *recto* is in much better condition than that on the *verso*, which contains the fragmentary conclusion of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία. The papyrus, when continuous, must have measured about 3 ft., and its height is rather under 10 inches, which is considerably less than that of the papyrus containing the accounts of the following year.

(Col. 1.)

|    |                             |                                                                                                                                                  |                                           |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|    | $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$   | σεβενιο <sup>1</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εις τρι <sup>χ</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ α ο <sup>β</sup> ς                                            | $\chi^L < \alpha$                         |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\delta}$   | σεβενιο <sup>1</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> εις τας 5 τριχιας ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ γ                                                                | $\chi^L < \gamma$                         |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> ωι Πολυ <sup>δ</sup> σοι εν τωι πυλωνι                                                                                        |                                           |
|    |                             | απο τιμης πυρου                                                                                                                                  | $\alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \nu\delta$ |
| 5  |                             | σεβενιο <sup>1</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ β                                                                                  | $\chi^L < \beta$                          |
|    |                             | ομοιως οι αυτοι                                                                                                                                  | $\chi^L < \beta$                          |
|    |                             | . . . . νιτι <sup>λ</sup> σου Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> ειποντ <sup>ο</sup> κερα <sup>τ</sup> [ς]                                                       |                                           |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$    | σεβενιο <sup>1</sup> ομοι <sup>ω</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ α κ $\overline{\eta}$ α / ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ β τ <sup>ρ</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ς | $\chi^L < \beta$                          |
|    |                             | . . . η <sup>δ</sup> θυγ <sup>η</sup> κερα <sup>τ</sup> — .                                                                                      |                                           |
| 10 | [κ $\overline{\eta}$ ]      | [μις] <sup>θ</sup> εργατ <sup>ο</sup> Ερμι <sup>ο</sup> οντος περι τας τρι <sup>χ</sup>                                                          |                                           |
|    |                             | . . . . συν τοις παρ ημ <sup>ω</sup> εως πεν . . ται                                                                                             | $\chi^L < \alpha$                         |
|    | $\overline{\kappa[\theta]}$ | [Δμ] <sup>β</sup> ρυ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>1</sup> Φιβις περι το ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ χαλων <sup>τ</sup> τας τρι <sup>χ</sup>                    |                                           |
|    |                             | Παναρωντι θυγ <sup>η</sup> κερα <sup>τ</sup> ς <sup>1</sup>                                                                                      |                                           |
|    | $\overline{\lambda}$        | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> ωι σοι απο τιμης πυρου                                                                                                        | $\alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \rho$      |
| 15 |                             | Αμβρυων κ <sup>1</sup> Φι <sup>β</sup> περι το ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ εισι                                                                       |                                           |

$\alpha\eta\eta^L \alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \phi\delta \kappa^1 \chi^L < \iota\alpha$

|    |  |                                                                                                                                                          |
|----|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    |  | / $\alpha\eta\eta^L$ του μηνος Φαμεν <sup>ω</sup> $\alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \phi\pi\beta \int \kappa^1$                                             |
|    |  | $\chi\alpha\lambda^e < \omicron\delta \int \alpha\iota \alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} \omega\varsigma \tau^w < \delta \omicron^b \kappa\theta \alpha\rho^r$ |
|    |  | $< \xi\alpha \int / \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\omicron 5 \alpha\eta\eta^L \alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \chi\mu\delta \alpha\nu^o$                            |
| 20 |  | λημμ <sup>λ</sup> του 5 μην <sup>ο</sup> $\alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \chi\kappa\beta$ πλειωι                                                          |
|    |  | υπ[ερ] δαπανη <sup>μ</sup> εις Φαρμουθι $\alpha\rho\overline{\gamma} < \kappa\beta$                                                                      |

(Col. 2.)

Ετους δεκατ<sup>ο</sup>[ν αυ]τοκρατορος [κα]ισαρος  
 Ονεσπασιαν[ου σεβα]στου μηνος [Φαρμου]θι  
 ων λημμ<sup>λ</sup>

Line 1. The figures at the end of the preceding column are visible to the left of that which is here given as col. 1.

Line 7. κερα<sup>τ</sup> : i.e. κεράτια, the fruit of the carob.

Line 11. πεν . . ται : or γεν . . ται, but the remains do not suit γένεται or γένονται.



|           |     |                                                                                                                   |                         |
|-----------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 25        | .   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> . . . .                                                                                       | < δ                     |
| .         | .   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> . . . .                                                                                       | < δ                     |
| .         | .   | Επιμαχ <sup>ο</sup> . . . .                                                                                       | < δ                     |
|           | ζ   | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> [ν]παγ[οντ <sup>ο</sup> ] εις Ερμουπο <sup>λ</sup>                                             | < ιβ                    |
| .         | .   | Ονν <sup>ω</sup> ερεσ <sup>β</sup> . . . . απο τιμ <sup>η</sup>                                                   | < ιβ                    |
| 30        | ι   | Χενηρακλει . . . . ο <sup>α</sup> απο [τιμ <sup>η</sup> ]                                                         | < 5                     |
|           | ι . | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> . . . ντ <sup>ο</sup> αφ Ερμουπ[ο <sup>λ</sup> ]                                               | < δ                     |
|           | ιη  | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> α[π]ο ζωνης                                                                                    | < δ                     |
|           | κ   | Επιμα <sup>χ</sup> ομ <sup>α</sup>                                                                                | < δ                     |
|           | κ . | του αυτου . . . <sup>λ</sup>                                                                                      | < δ                     |
| 35        | κ . | του 5 απο των ενεχθεντ <sup>ω</sup> . . απο                                                                       |                         |
|           |     | Ιβ[ιω]νος . . . απο τ <sup>ι</sup> ου[ου] < η                                                                     | < δ                     |
|           |     | Αμαραντ <sup>ο</sup> πα . . . πολυ . καστ . . απο                                                                 |                         |
|           |     | τιμ <sup>η</sup> χορτ[ου]                                                                                         | < η                     |
|           | κε  | Ερμα <sup>ο</sup> Αστ . . . [απο] τιμ <sup>η</sup> καλαμ[ου] . . . πτο <sup>λ</sup>                               | < α β / < γ [β]         |
| 40        |     | / λημ <sup>λ</sup> τ[ου μ <sup>η</sup> Φαρμουθ]ι                                                                  |                         |
|           |     | αργ <sup>γ</sup> [< ογ β]                                                                                         |                         |
| (Col. 3.) |     |                                                                                                                   |                         |
|           | [ι] | βλαστ[ολογ <sup>ο</sup> εν τοις] νεοφν <sup>τ</sup> Αμβ[ρυνων εργ <sup>γ</sup> ε]                                 | < δ-                    |
|           | ια  | βλαστ[ολογ <sup>ο</sup> ] . . . . κζ εργ <sup>γ</sup> ε                                                           | < δ-                    |
|           |     | κ <sup>ι</sup> βο[τανις ομ]οι <sup>ω</sup> παι <sup>ς</sup> 5 τ <sup>ι</sup> [β]                                  | < γ                     |
| 45        | ιβ  | βλαστ[ολογ <sup>ο</sup> ] . . . . παλαι ααμ <sup>ι</sup> Α[μ <sup>β</sup> εργ <sup>γ</sup> δ]                     | < γ=                    |
|           |     | σαροι[νυ <sup>ο</sup> φυλλα] κ <sup>ι</sup> αιρ <sup>ο</sup> εξω                                                  | f                       |
|           | ιγ  | βλαστολ[ογ <sup>ο</sup> εν] τωι χωρι <sup>ω</sup> Α[μβρν <sup>ω</sup> ] εργ <sup>γ</sup> δ αν <sup>λ</sup> β      | < γ=                    |
|           |     | μισ <sup>θ</sup> π[αι <sup>ς</sup> αι]ρ <sup>ο</sup> εξω φν <sup>λ</sup>                                          | f                       |
|           | ιδ  | βλαστολ[ογ <sup>ο</sup> ομ <sup>α</sup> Αμ <sup>β</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> εργ <sup>γ</sup> δ αν <sup>λ</sup> [β]     | χ <sup>λ</sup> < γ=     |
| 50        | ιε  | βλαστολ[ογ <sup>ο</sup> ομ <sup>α</sup> Α]μβρν <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> εργ <sup>γ</sup> [γ]                   | χ <sup>λ</sup> < β f    |
|           | ισ  | Δημητριωι μηχαναριω[ι] μισ <sup>θ</sup> κυκλευ[τ]                                                                 |                         |
|           |     | ν <sup>ι</sup> Ευμεν <sup>ο</sup> νι <sup>ο</sup> αυτου οντ <sup>ο</sup> [επι τωι] χωμ <sup>λ</sup> . .           |                         |
|           |     | ις . . . <sup>ο</sup> ις . . . η <sup>ς</sup> α β ιη α [ιθ] β κ f κα β                                            |                         |
|           |     | κβ β κγ f κδ β κε α . . / ο <sup>β</sup> μδ < 5                                                                   |                         |
| 55        |     | αι κ <sup>ι</sup> Δημ[η]τρι <sup>ω</sup> οφειλ <sup>ο</sup> . . . μυσ <sup>θ</sup> απο δη . .                     |                         |
|           |     | < 5 . . . ν <sup>ι</sup> Επαφρατ <sup>ο</sup> . . . νο τ <sup>ο</sup> κυκλ <sup>ε</sup>                           |                         |
|           |     | τ <sup>η</sup> ις β . . . . ν <sup>ο</sup> τ <sup>ο</sup> κ[υκλ <sup>ε</sup> ] / ο <sup>β</sup> ιβ < α β αι μ[ε]ν |                         |
|           |     | δι εμου                                                                                                           | [αργ <sup>γ</sup> < δ]= |
|           | ις  | Αμβρν <sup>ω</sup> αργει . . . . . χωμ <sup>λ</sup>                                                               |                         |
| 60        |     | Φιβις αρ[γει] . . . . ον . .                                                                                      |                         |
|           | ιη  | Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τ <sup>ο</sup> οργ <sup>γ</sup> συν μηχ <sup>λ</sup> Ε]υμεν <sup>ο</sup>                   |                         |

Line 42. The accounts for the first nine days of Pharmouthi are lost, only a few fragments being preserved, but it does not seem probable that they occupied more than one column. The accounts for this tenth year, so far as they remain, are on a

much less extended scale than those for the eleventh.

Line 48. αρ<sup>ο</sup>: cf. note on Pap. cxxxi. l. 36.

Line 54. ο<sup>β</sup> μδ: cf. note on Pap. cxxxi. l. 373.

|    |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                            |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|    | $\overline{\iota\theta}$      | ομοιως                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                            |
|    | $[\overline{\kappa}]$         | βλαστολογ[γ] <sup>ο</sup> εν τωι χωρ <sup>ι</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ γ                                                                                                                                                                            | $\chi^{\iota} < \beta \text{ } f$          |
| 65 | $[\overline{\kappa\alpha}]$   | Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τωι ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ συν μισ[θιωι αν]τι Ευμ <sup>ε</sup><br>βλαστολ[ογ] <sup>ο</sup> εν τωι χωρ <sup>ι</sup> Αμ <sup>β</sup> [ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ γ] τ <sup>ι</sup> f                                                 | $< \beta \text{ } f$                       |
|    | $[\overline{\kappa\beta}]$    | Φιβις α[κο <sup>λ</sup> ] τωι [ορ] $\overline{\gamma}$ συν μισ[θιωι αν]τι Ευμ <sup>εν</sup> <sup>ο</sup><br>βλαστολογ <sup>ο</sup> ο <sup>μ</sup> Α[μβρυ] <sup>ω</sup> α <sup>λ</sup> β τ <sup>ι</sup> α                                              | $\chi^{\iota} < \beta$                     |
|    |                               | Αφροδεισια . . . . . πρ <sup>ι</sup> κερα . . . . . $\delta$ α                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                            |
|    |                               | Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τωι ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ συν μι[σθιωι]                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                            |
| 70 |                               | ανη <sup>λ</sup> αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ $< \delta = \kappa^{\iota} \chi^{\iota}$ [ $< \lambda\alpha \text{ } f$ ]                                                                                                                                     |                                            |
|    | (Col. 4.)                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                            |
|    | $[\overline{\kappa\gamma}]$   | [Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τωι ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ συν] μισθι <sup>[ω]</sup> αντι [Ευμ <sup>ε</sup><br>Αμβρυων α . . . . . [βλασ]τολογ <sup>ο</sup><br>μισθ παι <sup>ς</sup> σαρ[ονν <sup>ο</sup> κ <sup>ι</sup> ] εξαιρ <sup>ο</sup> φν <sup>λ</sup> |                                            |
|    | $[\overline{\kappa\delta}]$   | βλαστολογ <sup>ο</sup> . . . . . κ <sup>ι</sup> ερ $\overline{\gamma}$ β τ <sup>ι</sup> ο <sup>β</sup> ζ                                                                                                                                              | $[\chi^{\iota} < \alpha = ]$               |
| 75 | $\overline{\kappa[\epsilon]}$ | Φιβις ακο <sup>λ</sup> τω[ι ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ συν] μισθιωι αντ <sup>ι</sup> Ευ[μ <sup>εν</sup> <sup>ο</sup> ]                                                                                                                                    |                                            |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$      | Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> βλασ[τολογ <sup>ο</sup> ε]ν τ <sup>η</sup> αμ <sup>β</sup> το την . . .                                                                                                                                                            |                                            |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  | Ευμ <sup>ε</sup> μεχ <sup>ι</sup> ε . . . . . χωμ <sup>ι</sup> ακο <sup>λ</sup> τ[ωι ορ $\overline{\gamma}$ ]<br>συν Φιβει . . . . .                                                                                                                  |                                            |
|    |                               | Αμβρυω <sup>ι</sup> . . . . . [ε]ν τωι ηλιαστ <sup>η</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                            |
| 80 | $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$      | σκα <sup>ι</sup> Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> [εν τωι] ηλιαστ <sup>η</sup> ως εις φν . .                                                                                                                                                                        |                                            |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\eta}$       | Φιβις αρ[γει]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                            |
|    |                               | Αμβρυω <sup>ι</sup> β[λαστολογ <sup>ο</sup> ] συν Ευμ <sup>ε</sup> μηχαν[αριωι]                                                                                                                                                                       |                                            |
|    | $\overline{\kappa\theta}$     | καθαριζ <sup>ο</sup> το . . . . . ταδι <sup>ο</sup> του νεοφ <sup>ο</sup> α . . .                                                                                                                                                                     |                                            |
|    |                               | Φιβις κοβα[λευει αχ]υρ <sup>ο</sup> απο τ <sup>η</sup> επαν <sup>λ</sup> . . .                                                                                                                                                                        |                                            |
| 85 |                               | μισ <sup>ο</sup> κυκλε[υτ <sup>ο</sup> μετα] Φιβι <sup>ο</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                            |
|    | $\overline{\lambda}$          | Αμβρυ <sup>ω</sup> ακ[ο <sup>λ</sup> τηι μ]ηχ <sup>ι</sup> σ <sup>ι</sup> μηχαναρ[ιωι]                                                                                                                                                                |                                            |
|    |                               | Φιβις περι το [βαλαν]ει <sup>ο</sup> εστιν . .                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                            |
|    |                               | αν[η <sup>λ</sup> χ <sup>ι</sup> ] $< \gamma \text{ } f$                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                            |
| 90 |                               | / ανη <sup>λ</sup> του [μηνος] Φαρμουθι αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ . . .                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                            |
|    |                               | κ <sup>ι</sup> χαλ <sup>ε</sup> . . . αι αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ ωστ <sup>ι</sup> $< \delta$ [ο <sup>β</sup> κθ αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ ]                                                                                                               |                                            |
|    |                               | $< \xi\gamma =$ / [εις το 5] ανη <sup>λ</sup> του 5 μ[ηνος]                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                            |
|    |                               | αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ $< \pi\theta$ . . . αν <sup>ο</sup> λημμ <sup>ι</sup>                                                                                                                                                                          |                                            |
|    |                               | αρ $\overline{\gamma}$ $< \omicron\gamma \text{ } f$ πλειωι ν <sup>ι</sup> διαπ[ανη <sup>μ</sup> ]                                                                                                                                                    |                                            |
|    |                               | εις [Παχ]ων                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | $[αρ\overline{\gamma} < \iota\epsilon . ]$ |

## PAPYRUS CXXV.—4th cent.

THIS papyrus contains a portion of some private accounts of expenditure, the payments being largely to workmen and tradesmen of various descriptions. The payments are all in kind, being stated in artabas of wheat. Similar payments in kind in the 4th century are recorded elsewhere, *e.g.* Rainer Pap. 1574. The papyrus contains three columns, the last being mutilated. There are several lacunæ in the rest of the document, which make the readings in many places doubtful; in addition to which so many of the letters are formed alike that it is often impossible to be certain of the reading, especially in the case of Egyptian proper names. The mention of indictions proves that the date of the papyrus cannot be earlier than the 4th century, and from the handwriting it does not appear to be later.

The papyrus measures 11 inches by 18, and is written in a slender, flowing hand, rather graceful in appearance, but hard to read from its cursive character. On the reverse is written the magical spell entitled "the old woman of Apollonius of Tyana," the text of which is given among the magical papyri (p. 123).

(Col. 1.)

|    |                                              |                     |         |
|----|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------|
|    | Δημητριάων αρτοκ[οπ]ω                        | ⲉ ⲟ̅ κδ αἰθησαυρικῶ | ⲉ ⲟ̅ κε |
|    | Πληνι πνωσ τεκτ[ονι] υπερ λοι' φορου οργανου |                     |         |
|    | κληρου αναβαλλου[σης] θ ινδικτιωνος          | ⲉ ⲟ̅ ζ              |         |
|    | Πασημι Αρπαησι° [ε]ργατη                     | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
| 5  | Ψονσυν Επωνυχῶ . . . πρεμπαμουν κ, νιω       | ⲉ ⲟ̅ ς              |         |
|    | Ανουβατι                                     | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Δολουγι κη' τλ . . . νιω                     | ⲉ ⲟ̅ δ              |         |
|    | Σασενβεινετ° . . . [ν]περ μισθου             | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Πεκυτι Πληνιο[ς] . . β' τεκτονι              | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
| 10 | Πληνι Πληνιος . . . ερου τεκτ                | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Ψονσυν . . κοιλι χρ . . . ς                  | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Μοουωτι Ψονωου . . . ος ομοιως               | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Καλητι Δολουγος τ[εκτ]ονι ομῶι               | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Κουαλαμαντι                                  | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
| 15 | Πληνι νεωτερω . . . ασημιος                  | ⲉ ⲟ̅ β              |         |
|    | Πληνι Πληνιος [τε]κτονι υπερ φορου οργανου   |                     |         |
|    | γουνηματος ι ιν[δικ]τ[ι]ωνος                 | ⲉ ⲟ̅ ι              |         |

Line 1. This column of papyrus has been split longitudinally, and its two portions have been placed too near together in mounting. This is shown by the word *αρτοκοπω*, no space having been left for the letters *οπ*, which have been lost in the

fissure. This has therefore to be borne in mind with reference to the rest of the column.

Line 17. *γουνηματος*: the same word as in l. 36, but the first three letters are doubtful.

|           |                                       |                         |            |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
|           | [Α]γοπιωνι αρτοκοπω                   | ⲉ ⲟ ⲗⲁⲗ   / αιθησαυρικω | ⲟ ⲗγιδ     |
|           | Δημητριανω ομοῖ                       | ⲉ ⲟ ⲕδ αιθησαυρικω      | ⲟ ⲕε       |
| 20        | Σασενβεινϵ οργανιτη . . μπαμουν . .   |                         | ⲉ ⲟ Ⲕ      |
| (Col. 2.) |                                       |                         |            |
|           | Χω . . . . ινουφω                     |                         | ⲉ ⲟ γ      |
|           | Συρ . . . λαναριω                     |                         | ⲟ β        |
|           | τω . . αρτοκοπιω Ερμωνθεως υπερ μισ'  |                         |            |
|           | Π[ανν]ι κϑ Επειφ                      |                         | ⲉ ⲟ θⲗ     |
| 25        | Λ— Αγο[πιω]νι αρτοκοπω                | ⲉ ⲟ ⲗⲁⲗ   / αιθησ'      | ⲟ ⲗγιδ     |
|           | και υ[περ] λογου αυτου                | ⲉ ⲟ ιγ αιθησ'           | ⲟ ιγ ιω ⲕο |
|           | Δη[μητρ]ιανω ομοιως                   | ⲉ ⲟ ⲕδ αιθησ'           | ⲟ ⲕε       |
|           | Πα . . . ωλει οικοδομω υπερ μισθου    |                         | ⲉ ⲟ Ⲕ      |
|           | Λολο[νυ]ι Ελκειτος εργατη υπερ μισθου |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
| 30        | Σερβε . . αδελφω                      |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
|           | Συρω ικετη προστατου                  |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
|           | Παση[μ]ι απο Ισιδιονορους ομοῖ        |                         | ⲉ ⲟ Ⲕ      |
|           | Σενφ . ομωνθι υπερ μισθου εριων       |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
|           | Πληνι παστοφορων Καλασιριος           |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
| 35        | Λολουγι στεφανοπλοκ' ομοιως           |                         | ⲉ ⲟ β      |
|           | Πληνι Δομητιου υπερ φορου γονηματος   |                         |            |
|           | ι ινδ[ικ]τιωνος μετρωφορικω           | ⲉ ⲟ ζ αι                |            |
|           | θησαυρικω                             |                         | ⲟ θ        |
|           | Πεμουτι θρυποπολει υπερ λογου αυτου   |                         | ⲉ ⲟ ςⲗ     |
| 40        | Πληνι ομοιως                          |                         | ⲉ ⲟ ε      |

## (Col. 3.)

|    |                                  |  |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
|    | τοῖς π' ψαιτι σενπααν υπερ π . . |  |
|    | κληρου θυνεως και ενμεμνος . .   |  |
|    | Διδυμω Αντινοου                  |  |
|    | Κελλαβαιι μυνοθηρατη             |  |
| 45 | Σολχουτι τεκτ'                   |  |
|    | Πασημι πρεσβ' εργατη             |  |
|    | ομου δαπανης μη[νος] . .         |  |
|    | πυρου μετρωθη . .                |  |
|    | Λου' εις τον εξ' ημων Μεσορη . . |  |
| 50 | ουτως                            |  |

Line 18. λⲁⲗ : the figures are followed by two strokes, half above the line, apparently intended to separate them from the word which follows ; cf. l. 25, where the same characters recur.

Line 23. μισ' : the reading is doubtful.

Line 25. The letter λ in the margin evidently marks a new section of the document, probably a date, = the 30th of the

month. The conclusion of the month is evidently reached in l. 46.

Line 29. The second word of the line is written over an erasure, and is therefore obscure.

Line 41. The right-hand part of this column is lost, containing the figures and sometimes a portion of the entries.



θ ινδικτιωνος

ι ινδικτιωνος

Κριθης ομοιως εις Επειφ α μετρα .

ουτως

55

θ ινδικτιωνος

ι ινδικτιωνος

και εισεπραχθ' επι τουδε του μισ' ε .

κριθης

ουτως

## 6. FAYÚM PAPYRI.

### PAPYRUS CXIII.

UNDER this number (with the addition of two small documents bearing the number CXVI.) are grouped the papyri which form the English section of what is popularly known as the "Fayúmfund." This great mass of papyri, to which the chief museums of the Continent owe the larger part of their collections, is the result of the irregular and unsystematic researches which have been made by natives among the mounds which now cover the ancient city of Arsinoë or Crocodilopolis. The modern representative of this ancient provincial capital is the town of Medinet-el-Fayúm, but in the course of centuries the city has shifted its position, spreading itself continually southwards, and has left the site of the ancient town unoccupied and open to investigation. Chance guided the native inhabitants of the district to explorations among these mounds, and in the winter of 1877 a vast number of papyri began to come to light. Accurate record of the circumstances under which the discoveries were made is naturally impossible, considering that the excavations were private and secret and the excavators natives, and it is certain that the papyri which from this moment began to find their way through the medium of dealers from the Fayúm to Europe included documents from many different spots in the district; but it is equally evident that the explorers must have lighted upon the site of an ancient treasury of official records, which provided the nucleus of this great mass of papyri.\* From the same site papyri have continued to flow from Egypt to Europe for the last fifteen years, until the papyri from the Fayúm enormously outnumber those from any other part of the country. England has not secured a large share of them at present. The collection given here (which, however, only includes products of the first year of discovery, 1877-78) consists of forty documents of various sizes, complete and incomplete, while the Paris, Berlin, and Vienna collections number theirs by hundreds, and even by thousands. Only a comparatively small portion of this mass has yet been made available for public study. Dr. U. Wilcken has published some selections from the Berlin Fayúm-papyri in the *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preussischen Akademie* for 1883 (pp. 897-922), and in *Hermes*, vol. xx. (1885). Prof. Landwehr has discussed some of the same collection in *Philologus*, vol. xliii. (1885), and Dr. Magirus in *Wiener Studien*, vol. viii. (1886); but the bulk of the Berlin collection remains unedited. The Vienna collection, which is by far the largest, is due to the munificence of the Archduke Rainer, and, although most of the papyri in it are more or less mutilated, it yet includes an invaluable series of dated documents from the first to the eighth century, which throw endless light on the history of the province during that period. A guide to a selection

\* See Erman, *Die Herkunft der Fayum Papyri*, *Hermes*, vol. xxi.; Karabacek, *Führer durch die Ausstellung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, pp. xi.-xiii.

of these MSS. has lately been published under the direction of Prof. J. Karabacek,\* and papers on the more important subjects suggested by them have been issued from time to time.† The Greek section of the Rainer papyri has been under the especial care and study of Dr. K. Wessely, who edits the Greek portion of the guide just referred to and has published many texts in different numbers of *Wiener Studien* and other periodicals, and in his *Prolegomena ad Papyrorum Graecorum novam editionem edendam* (Vienna, 1883). The same scholar has also done much work on the Fayûm MSS. at London and Paris. He has printed most of the former in *Wiener Studien*, vols. ix. (1887) and xii. (1890); and he has published the complete series of the Paris Fayûm-papyri in the *Revue Egyptologique*, vols. iii.-vi. (1885-1888), and again in an article among the *Denkschriften der kais. Akademie*, vol. xxxvii. (Vienna, 1889), entitled *Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El-Faijûm* (supplemented by an article in the *Jahresbericht des k. k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals*, 1889-90). Progress is thus being made with the publication of the texts of the Fayûm papyri; but a vast amount of work remains to be done before the whole of the material which has been derived from this source has been thoroughly sifted and analysed and arranged.

The character of the Fayûm papyri is very various. They cover the whole period from the end of the first to the tenth century of our era, the majority of them belonging, however, to the later portion of that period. They are in many languages (hieratic and demotic Egyptian, Greek, Coptic, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Pehlevi, Æthiopic, Arabic), and include all classes of documents,—classical authors (among them small portions of Homer, Hesiod, Epicharmus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Euripides, Plato, Isocrates, Æschines, Theocritus), fragments of the Bible, theological treatises, private letters, accounts, contracts of lease or sale, assessments for taxes, receipts, etc. The most valuable are those which throw a light on the private life and financial organisation of Egypt under the Roman Empire and in the early years of the Arabian conquest. They cover a period of which almost nothing is known at present, and they form the material out of which that section of history can be reconstructed. But the history lies at present in very small fragments, and till the material has been got better in hand it will be impossible to arrive at any very certain conclusions. Questions can be raised by the publication of a small group of these papyri, like the present; but they cannot be laid till the rest of the documents of the same family have been investigated and made known to the world.

One of the problems presented by the papyri of the later Roman Empire is that of the dating of documents by the "indiction." This, as is well known, was a cycle of fifteen years, beginning on the 1st of September, according to the Constantinopolitan mode of reckoning, which prevailed in the eastern provinces of the Empire. It is, however, established by means of the Fayûm papyri that a different starting-point was adopted in Egypt, and that the indiction there began normally somewhere in the latter half of Pauni, which corresponds to about the middle of June. Wessely goes further, and tries to establish that there was a special mode of calculating the indiction in different parts of Egypt, notably in Arsinoë, and even in different villages of the same province (*Prolegomena*, p. 48 *seq.*). This seems improbable in itself and insufficiently supported by evidence. It is based only on phrases

\* See previous note.

† *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, 1886, etc.



such as *ἔτους ιη μεσορῇ ιε δ\* ιν, ἐν* (or as Wessely always reads it, *ἐπ'*) *Ἄρ* (or *Ἄρσι*): *δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐπ' Ἀρσινόϊτου ἐπαρχίας Ἀρχαδίας: ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐν κόμῃ Θινὸς ἐκ Θηβαίου ἐπαρχίας*, etc. It seems far more probable that the words denoting the locality stand by themselves, indicating the place at which the document was written, than that they are to be taken closely with *ἰνδικτιῶνος* as indicating a local mode of reckoning the date. It is natural enough that official documents should state the place from which they were dated; it is not natural that there should be a multitude of different local methods of reckoning time.

The exact date of the commencement of the indiction-year in Egypt has been the subject of much controversy. This controversy arises out of the use in several instances of the words *ἀρχῇ* and *τέλει* in conjunction with the number of the indiction (*e.g.* Pap. CXIII. (4), l. 4, *παννι ιδ τελ, τρισκαίδεκάτης ιν*). That these words do not refer solely to the actual first and last days of the indiction-year is certain, not only from the widely different dates which would then have to be assigned for the beginning of the year, but from a Berlin papyrus (quoted by Wilcken, *Hermes*, vol. xxi. p. 279) containing the passage *ὁμολογῶ . . . . ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἕως εἰκάδος τοῦ παρόντος μηνὸς παννὶ ἀρχῇ τῆς παρούσης δεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος*, where the writer speaks of the 20th of Pauni as a future day in the same indiction as that in which he writes, but also as *ἀρχῇ* of that indiction. The question, however, is whether the Egyptian indiction-year always began on the same day, or whether it was variable. *A priori* a fixed date is probable, for the general convenience of trade and industry. Further, if the date were not fixed, but varied within limits of a month or so, a date within the limits of variation might occur twice within the same indiction-year; and consequently it would be necessary always to add the words *ἀρχῇ* or *τέλει* whenever a date was given within these limits, *i.e.* in the months of Pauni and Epiph; whereas in fact dates in these months are repeatedly found without the addition of these words, or other indication (such as the mention of consuls) by which the year could be identified.† But the theory of a fixed beginning of the indiction-year seems to be irreconcilable with the testimony as to the date of that beginning afforded by the days to which the terms *ἀρχῇ* and *τέλει* are applied. In the Paris papyri *ἀρχῇ* is found as early as Pauni 1st (Wessely, App. 97) and 17th (*ib.*, LXXIII. 27); on the other hand *τέλει* is found as late as Pauni 20th (*ib.*, App. 374) and 27th (LXXIII. 1). It follows that in the two former years the beginning of the indiction-year happened on or before the 17th of Pauni, while in the two latter it fell on or after the 21st. The plea put forward by Krall (*Mittheil. a. d. Samml. Erz. Rainer*, i. 21) that such cases are "exceptional" appears practically to surrender the point at issue, since it implies that there was some official body which had power to alter the date of the beginning of the year; and this is all that is required. There is no doubt that the choice of a point about the middle of Pauni for the commencement of the year was due to the fact that this was the time of the end of harvest and the beginning of the rising of the Nile. The latter phenomenon, the central fact in Egyptian life, was a natural point from which to date a new year, and we know that the first signs of it were carefully watched, then as now. Of course

\* It should be noted that in all these dates the terms "4th indiction," "12th indiction," etc., mean the 4th or 12th year of the current 15-year cycle. The cycles themselves are not numbered, so that when a document is dated solely by the indiction-year we cannot by any means always assign it

to its exact date.

† There are twelve such instances in the Paris Fayûm-papyri, edited by Wessely, viz. iii., xli., xliii., xlvii., liii. (7), (11), (14), (18), 6687, lxvi., lxx. (1), (4); but it must be observed that nearly all belong to short and much abbreviated documents.



the date of its occurrence varied to some extent from year to year, and consequently the variations in the beginning of the indiction-year are explained.\*

The origin and meaning of the fifteen-year cycle are uncertain. There is practically no doubt now that its official adoption in the Empire, or at least in the eastern portion of it, took place in A.D. 312. The evidence on which the conclusion had been previously arrived at is summarised in Gardthausen (*Griechische Paläographie*, p. 390 ff.); and now several papyri in the Rainer collection provide instances of the use of this method of dating within a few years of its introduction. The earliest instance is Rainer Pap. 1997 (*Führer*, no. 279), which is dated in the 10th indiction, and contains references to the Emperor Licinius and his son. This must have been written before A.D. 323; and if there were still any doubt as to the exact year from which the indictions were counted, it would be removed by Rainer Pap. 1581 (*Führer*, no. 288), which is dated the 7th Pachon, in the consulship of Marcellinus and Probinus (= A.D. 341) and in the 14th indiction. From this it is clear that the Pap. 1997, just alluded to, falls in the year 321-22, and that the calculation by the indiction starts from A.D. 312-313. It has been argued that a similar cycle existed in Egypt (though not commonly used for chronological purposes) at an earlier period, and perhaps even under the Ptolemies; but the evidence at present available on this point is not conclusive. Finally the evidence goes to show that the indiction-period was originally connected with taxation. The exact character of the connection is uncertain; but presumably it represents a fifteen-year cycle of taxation, with a fresh assessment for each such period. For further light on the whole question, it is necessary to wait for fresh publications of the materials from the Fayûm.†

Another subject of considerable interest which is raised by these papyri is that of the monetary system of Egypt under the Eastern Empire. It is not necessary to discuss here all the points of controversy which are connected with it, nor to trace its history through all its variations in the course of the Empire. But it may be desirable to sketch the outline of its condition in the 6th and 7th centuries, to which period belong the papyri in this group which have to do with receipts and accounts. The centre of the system is the golden solidus, which, having weighed under Julius Cæsar  $\frac{1}{40}$  of a pound, had been after a long course of depreciation reduced by Constantine to  $\frac{1}{72}$ . Silver stood to gold nearly in the relation of 1 to 14; but, as in most modern coinages, the silver coins were not quite up to their nominal value, so that the silver coin equal in weight to half a solidus, which should therefore have been worth  $\frac{1}{28}$  of that coin, had the nominal value of  $\frac{1}{24}$ . This was the siliqua or *κεράτιον* (whence our modern word carat), twenty-four of which were equal in nominal value to a solidus. The chief other silver coin, of which, however, there is no mention in these papyri, was the miliarensis, so called as being in worth equal to the  $\frac{1}{1000}$

\* The isolated instances in which the phrases ἀρχὴ and τέλει are applied to dates considerably removed from the middle of Pauni need not cause much difficulty. In the Paris papyri, and in others quoted by Wilcken, ἀρχὴ is found with Mesore 1st, 2nd, 13th, and 17th, Thoth (day not given), Phaophi 8th and 27th (Wessely, lxxv. b, lxi., iv., App. 438; Wilcken, *Hermes*, vol. xxi., p. 280), τέλει with Pachon 28th (Wilcken, *ib.*) and Choiach 1st (Wessely, App. 642). It is tolerably clear that the year was, either popularly or officially, divided into

two halves, known as ἀρχὴ and τέλος, and that in a few cases the scribes elected to add this designation even when its omission could produce no uncertainty.

† The principal discussions on the subject of the indiction will be found in Mommsen (*Abhandl. d. sächs. Gesellschaft*, 1850), Gardthausen (*Griech. Pal.*, p. 390 ff.), Wessely (*Prolegomena*, § v., and *Pap. Ersh. Rainer*, i. 26 ff.), Wilcken (*Hermes*, vols. xix., p. 293 ff.; xxi., p. 277 ff.), and Krall (*Pap. Ersh. Rainer*, i. 12 ff.).

part of a pound of gold; it was also approximately worth  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a solidus, with the nominal value of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or equal to two siliquæ. Of the copper coinage, the denarius was the unit. There were also coins of between 20 and 21 and between 40 and 42 denarii; and three of these latter coins were held equivalent to the half-siliqua, which was strictly worth 125 denarii; and calculating at the same rate we get the solidus as equivalent to 6,000 denarii. This is the outline of the monetary system of the Empire after the reforms of Constantine; but difficulties of calculation are perpetually arising owing to the fluctuations in the value of the precious metals in the subsequent centuries, on account of the appreciation of gold and depreciation of the other metals, so that we find the solidus at different times worth 7,000, 7,500, and even (in the time of Justinian) 8,750 denarii. See Mommsen (*Römisches Münzwesen*, vol. iii.), Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, v., 1883), etc.

Besides the documents of a purely financial character, these papyri provide material for a study of the legal and social aspects of Egyptian life, in the shape of records of lawsuits and contracts for lease or sale of property. But these as a rule explain themselves, and the materials here given are too scanty to support, by themselves, any wide inductions on these subjects. Of the classical authors there is nothing in this group; and the fragments of theological literature are small and unimportant.

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#### PAPYRUS CXIII. I.—6th cent.

THIS is considerably the longest of the Fayúm papyri in the British Museum. It contains the record of a lawsuit between Delmatius (who also had the name Valentinus), son of Phœbammon, a soldier of the rank of standard-bearer, and Aurelius Valentinus, son of Licinianus. The matter arose out of a disputed sale. Delmatius had sold to Valentinus a fifth part of his inheritance from his father, at a price which he afterwards thought considerably less than its real value. Accordingly he brought an action against Valentinus before arbitrators to annul the sale, or to require him to pay a higher price, pleading that the sum originally paid was too low, and that he was himself not of age at the time. In answer to this Valentinus pleaded that in all sales there were liable to be variations from the actual value of the object sold, so that a sale could not be annulled if the object went for a little more or less than it was worth; and that if Delmatius was not of age when the sale took place (which he did not admit), at least he made no protest at the time, and was therefore debarred from doing so now. On these points issue was joined before the arbitrators, and considerable difficulty was experienced in coming to any acceptable settlement, so much so, that the question was nearly being referred to a regular court of law; but finally an arrangement was agreed upon, by which Valentinus undertook to pay Delmatius six pieces of gold in addition to the price originally paid, both parties binding themselves to accept this decision as final. The present document is one of two identical copies (one to be preserved by each party) of this agreement, recapitulating the facts of the case, and setting forth the ultimate decision; and it bears the signatures and attestations of the two principals and of seven witnesses, all in their own handwritings.

The document is interesting as an instance of the working of the law in Egypt in the 6th century after Christ, but it does not throw fresh light on the law itself, for want of sufficient detail as to the substance of the pleadings. The grounds on which the annulment of the contract of sale was asked for were two: first, that the plaintiff was a minor at the time; secondly, that he was deceived as to the price. Of these the first would of itself be a valid cause, if it were established; though it is noteworthy that the defendant argues that the plaintiff is debarred from pleading it now, through not having made any protest at the time. As to the second, Roman law, by virtue of two rescripts of Diocletian, allowed a sale to be annulled if there had been a mistake amounting to one-half of the value of the object in question; but if fraud could be proved, it was unnecessary for the injury to be so large. In this case the use of the word *περιεγράφη* would suggest that fraud was alleged; but we are not told whether it was held to be established, or on what grounds the award was based. Indeed it would rather appear from the terms of it that it was arrived at more on the ground of the general equity of the case than on the strict lines of law.

The document has been preserved to us in a somewhat fragmentary condition. The beginning is entirely lost, but apparently not to any great extent, as we have the recapitulation of the whole of the legal proceedings, though not of the original sale. It consists of two large sheets of papyrus, put together (in the first instance by Dr. K. Wessely) from several fragments; and, in addition, a small detached fragment belonging to the beginning of the document. The whole originally formed a single roll, and the writing is in one column across the width of the papyrus. The first sheet measures 2 ft. 10½ in. in length and a foot in width; it has several considerable lacunæ, worms or some other cause of decay having eaten through many of the folds in which it was originally folded. The second sheet is of the same width and 3 ft. 3 in. in length, the last 8 inches being blank. It is very much mutilated, the lacunæ being of the same character as in the other sheet, but much larger. However, as they occur principally in the formula of attestation, which is the same in each case, they can nearly all be satisfactorily filled up. The detached fragment, which contains the ends of lines, measures about 5½ inches square. The writing of the body of the document is large and distinct; those of the attestations vary considerably, and are often very incorrect.

The text has been published by Dr. Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, ix. (1887), pp. 266–271; but his version contains several errors, some of which may safely be ascribed to the printers.

|    |         |                                                                     |
|----|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    |         | ομεν επι τησδε                                                      |
|    |         | ιους και εν τη ταυτης                                               |
|    |         | της Θεοδοσιου πολιτων                                               |
|    |         | αι προ πολλου χρονου το αυτο                                        |
| 5  |         | Δελματιου του και Ουαλεντινου                                       |
|    |         | μενης εις αυτον παρ αυτου                                           |
|    |         | κα]ταβληθεντων νεμεσθαι                                             |
|    |         | ν πραγματων δεσποτικω                                               |
|    | * * * * |                                                                     |
|    |         | δικω . . . . . [Δελματιον τ]ον και Ουαλ[εντινον . . . . .           |
| 10 |         | ετι αμφιβαλλει . . π . . . . . [Δελ]ματιος ο και Ουαλεντινος ελεγεν |



- [οτι εν αφ]ηλικοτητι προ [της μεθεξε]ως εννομου ηλικιας των εικοσι  
 πεντε ενιαυτων την πρασιν εποησατο και περιεγραφη το γαρ τιμημα  
 ουκ αξιον του πραγμ[ατος εαυτω] ελεγεν καταβεβλησθαι αλλ ελαττον  
 προς τουτο δικαιολογουμενος Ουαλεντινος ελεγεν μη ανατρεπεσθαι  
 15 πρασιν ενεκεν ελαττωνος τιμης τοιαυτα γαρ αι συμβαινειν  
 εν ταις πρασεσιν η ολ[ιγω πλειον]ος η ολιγω ελαττωνος αγοραζειν  
 η πω[λειν] Δελματιος ο και [Ουαλεντ]ινος προς ταυτα ελεγεν οτι επι των  
 τελειων [ταυτ] εστιν αυ[τος δε] εν αφηλικοτητι εποησεν τοτε το της  
 πρασεως συναλλαγμα κ[αι περιε]γραφη προς τουτο ελεγεν Ουαλεντινος  
 20 ως μαλιστα μεν ουδε αφηλιξ τοτε εποησατο το συναλλαγμα  
 αλλα και διεβεβαιωσατο εαυτον το τηνικαυτα τελειον ειναι ει δε και δοιη τις  
 κατα συγχωρησιν τουτο [ουτως εχ]ειν αλλα πολυν την τελειαν και εννομον  
 ὑπ[ερβας] ηλικιαν κατα τ[ον αυ]του λογον επησυχασεν τη πρασι και  
 ου κατη[γα]γεν μεμψιν περι αυτης και τουτω τω λογω αποκεκλεισθαι  
 25 αυτω [π]ασαν κατ αυτου δ[ι]καιολογιαν [π]ερι αφηλικοτητος  
 η περι παραλληλου τιμηματος τουτων ρηθεντων αυτοις προς αλληλους  
 συνβεβηκεν μεσητιαν γε[νεσ]θαι μεσων ειρηνικων ανδρων  
 αγαθων εφ ων τουτων και π[ολ]λων αλλων κεινηθεντων και μελλοντος  
 του πρ[αγ]ματος εις δικαστηρι[ον] καταγεσθαι ὑστερον ηρεσεν τοις  
 30 μεσοις [κ]αι τοις μερεσε[ι]ν εδοξεν προς [α]παλλαγην τελειαν και διαλυσιν  
 του πραγματος δοθηναι Δελματι[ω] τω και Ουαλεντινω παρα Ουαλεντινου  
 αλλα χρυσου νομισμα[α] εξ χρ̣ ὦ ς προς τοις ήδη παλαι δοθεισιν  
 εν τω καιρω της γενομενης πρα[σεως] και επι τουτοις απηλλαχθαι αυτοις  
 και μη[δε] αυτον τον Δελματιον τον και Ουαλεντινον εχειν τινα λογον  
 35 επι προς Ουαλεντινον περι του αυτου πεμπτου μερους των αυτων  
 πραγματων η μερους αυτων η δικαιοι αυτων των και ενκειμενων  
 τη γεναμενη πρασι παρ αυτον Δ[ε]λματιου του και Ουαλεντινου  
 εις Ουαλεντινον μηδε π[ε]ρι τιμ[η]ματος ως ελαττωνος δοθεντος

Line 12. W. omits και. περιεγραφή: a non-classical use, taken from the Latin *circumscribere*.

Line 13. εαυτω ελεγεν: W. reads ουδε τελειον. With the exception of ελ no complete letters remain, but the tops and bottoms of the longer letters are visible, and these suit ελεγεν, but not τελειον. εαυτω is however almost entirely conjectural, but the first or second letter of the word following πραγματος appears to have been an ε. ελαττον: here and elsewhere where the word occurs the first τ is separated from the second by a sort of comma attached to it. A comma above the line in such a case is of course frequently found in MSS.

Line 15. αι: W. ει, conjecturing ειωθε; but the reading is clearly αι.

Line 16. η ολ[ιγω πλειον]ος: W. η [πλ]ειονος, without indicating that the lacuna requires something more to fill it; and an ο and traces of a λ precede it, and make certain a reading which in any case is required by the context.

Line 17. πωλειν: this, which is W.'s conjecture, suits the traces of letters which remain.

Line 19. και περιεγραφή: W. simply marks a lacuna, but the last five letters are fairly clear.

Line 22. [ουτως εχ]ειν: W. simply [μεν]ειν, but the lacuna requires seven or eight letters to fill it, and the tail of the τ is visible. πολυν: W. considers this a blunder for πολλην, reading υπαρχειν below. More probably it is for πολυ, in adverbial sense.

Line 23. υπερβας: W. υπαρχειν, but there are clear traces of the letters επ (or ει) following closely on υπ. κατα τον αυτου λογον goes with υπερβας.

Line 28. μελλοντος: for the coupling of the λλ, cf. l. 83.

Line 29. δικαστηρι[ον]: W. δικαστηρια, but the space appears to be wide enough for two letters.

Line 30. μερεσιν: exactly in our modern sense of the word "party."

Line 32. χρυσου νομισμα is the Greek equivalent for solidus aureus, which was the standard gold coin in the Roman empire. From the time of Constantine onwards the solidus weighed  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a pound of gold, which at the present price of gold would make its value about 12s. 6d.; but gold was of course more valuable then.

Line 37. παρ αυτον: W. παρα τον, but there appears clearly to be a ν.



- παρα την αξίαν μηδε περ[ι περ]ιγραφης ως περιγραφεντος αυτου  
 40 και [Ουαλεν]τινος δε συνθετο [εμ]μενειν τουτοις και μη του λοιπου  
 ζητησι[ν επ]αγειν Δελματιω τω και Ουαλεντινω ως λαβωντι παρ αυτου  
 εξ υστερου μετα την πρασιν τα π[ρο]ειρημενα εξ νομισματα δια το λογω  
 διαλυσσεως και απαλλαγης συναρεσαι αυτα δοθηναι προς τοις παλαι  
 45 δοθεισιν και επι τουτοις π[ε]ρι τ[ων] εξ νομισματων δοθεντων  
 Δελ[ματιω τ]ω και Ουαλεντινω παρα Ουαλεντινου απο χειρος εις χειρας  
 επι παρ[ου]σι[α] των εξης ὑπογραφοντων μαρτυρων εδεησεν  
 ταυτην την εγγραφον ομολογίαν της διαλυσσεως μεταξυ αυτων  
 παρακολουθησαι δι ης ομολογουσιν επομνυμειναι θε[ον παντ]οκρατορα  
 και την ευσεβειαν και νικην τη[ς καλλ]ινικου και αθανατου κορυφης  
 50 οι εξ [εκατερ]ου μερους εμμενειν τουτοις τοις και συνδοξασιν και  
 κρατουνειν και [βε]βαιουν και εν μηδενι παρασαλευειν μη εν δικαστηριω  
 οιωδηποτε μη εκτος δικαστηριου μη δια βασιλικης αντιγραφης  
 ει δε επιχειρησειεν οποτερον [μ]ερ[ος] η κληρονομοι αυ[των] η διαδοχοι  
 η διακατοχοι παραβηναι τι [ων συν]νομολογησαν μηδεν μεν ωφέλεισθαι  
 55 εκ τ[ου] επιχειρημα[τος] ενεχεσθαι δε και τω της επιορκιας κινδυνω  
 και τοις αλλο[ις] ε[πι]τιμειουσ[ι] τοις ωρισμεινους κατα των παραβαινειν  
 επιχειρουντων ενομοτους συνθηκας και δουναι λογω προστιμου  
 και παραβασιας τω εμμενοντι μ[ερ]ει χρυσου ονγκια[ς] τεσσαρας  
 60 χ[ρ] γ[ο] δ[ι] και συμπαντα [τα συμ]βησομενα αναλωματα και δαπανηματα  
 και ζημι[ω]ματα τω παραβαινομενω μερει παρα [την αυ]τιαν του  
 παραβαινου[το]ς προς τω και μετα την του προστιμου και των αναλωματων  
 και δαπανηματων και ζημιωματων καταβολην εχειν ταυτην την  
 ομολογίαν της διαλυσσεως [την αι]δι[α]ν ἴσχυν επι τε αυτων των πρωτοτυπων  
 65 προς [αλλ]ηλους και επι κληρο[νομων] αυτων και διαδοχων και διακατοχων  
 η τις [ . . . . . δι]σση ἴσοτυπ[ος] αὐ'θεντικη ωστε εκαστον μερος εχειν  
 ανα μον[α]χον [κ]αι ὑπεθεντο αλληλοις προς ασφαλιαν επι τε τω  
 προστιμω και τοις αναλωμασιν και δαπανημασιν και ζημιωμασιν  
 απαντα εαυτων τα ὑπαρχ[οντα] και ὑπαρξοντα εν παντι ειδει και γενει  
 70 ιδικ[ως] και γενικ[ως] ενεχ[υ]ρου λογω και υποθηκης δικαιω καθ' απερ  
 εκ δικη[ς] και επι[ ] τουτοις επερωτησαντες εαυτους και αντεπερωτηθεντες  
 [αλ]ληλοις παροντες παρουσιν κατα προσωπον ωμολογησαν +

Line 39. περ[ι περ]ιγραφης: W. περι γραφης, ignoring the lacuna.

Line 41. επαγειν: W. εσαγειν, but the remains suit π better.

Line 44. περι των: W. omits περι and ignores the lacuna.

Line 45. χειρας: not χερας, as W. gives it.

Lines 49, 50. The supplements are Wessely's.

Line 50. W. omits ε; but the tail of a ξ is visible.

Line 54. ων συνωμολογησαν: W. omits συν, but the size of the lacuna requires more than one letter to fill it.

Line 55. επιχειρηματος: supplied by W.

Line 58. τεσσαρας: the extremities of what may be a τ and ε are visible, and the reading is made certain by l. 81.

Line 59. γο: the abbreviation for οὐγκία. The uncia was  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a pound, and therefore when applied to gold, as here, was

equivalent to 6 solidi.

Line 60. αιτιαν: the first three letters are nearly lost, but the remains do not suit αξιαν, as read by W.

Lines 63, 64. The fragments of which this document is composed were not properly arranged when W. transcribed it, and accordingly in his version the last halves of these two lines have been separated from the first, which has led him into some errors of reading and conjecture.

Line 65. ἴσοτυπος: not ἴσοτυπω, as W. reads.

Line 66. ανα μοναχον: W. gives ενα μοναχη, but the first α is perfectly clear, and also the termination ον. The phrase is a little strange, but is clearly an extension of the use of ανα in adverbial phrases.

- Φλ. Δελματις ο και Ουαλεντινος τρακωναριος ὕιος Φοιβαμμωνος ο προγε  
 γραμενος πεπηνημε την[δε τη]ν ομωλογιαν της διαλυσεως προς  
 σε τον Αυρηλιον Ουαλε[ντι]ον ὕιων Δικινιανου περι του προ του  
 75 [του πραθ]εντος συ παρ [εμου] πεμπτου μερους πραγματων δια  
 φο[ρων] . . . . . εις εμε απω πατροας μου κληρομιας κατα την  
 δυ[ναμιν ης] επησησαμην συ πρασεως δεξαμενος και νυν παρε  
 σου λογο διαλυσεως και τα αλλα εξ χρυσινα χρυ/[ν] ε και ομολογο  
 του λυπου μηδενα λογον εχιν προ σε περι του[το]ν η μερους η δι  
 80 καιου κατα μηδενα τρ[οπον] και συνφονι μυ παντα τα προγεγραμ  
 με[να ο]ς προκιτε και [το προ]στιμον των τεσσαρων ουγκιον του  
 [χρυσιου και ε]περοτιθις ομολογησα και αναγνους και ηπογραψας  
 [χειρι εμη απε]λυσα Αυρηλιος Ουαλεντινος ὕιος Δικινῆδιανου  
 ο προγεγραμμενος πεποι[ημα]ι τηνδε την ομ[ολο]γιαν της  
 85 διαλυσεως προς σε [τον] Φλαουιον Δελματι[ον] τον και  
 [Ουαλεντινον] δρακοναριον και ομολογω μηδενα λογον εχειν  
 προς σε προ[φασει] των ὄντων δοθεν σοι παρ εμου χρυσινων εξ λογω  
 διαλυσεως ης εποιησαμ[ε] προς σε περι ου συ μοι το πριν επι  
 πεπρακας πεμπ[του] [μερου]ς πραγματων [διαφορ]ων κατα την  
 90 [δυναμιν ης] εποιησον μοι πρασεως και συμφωνι μοι παντα τα  
 προγεγραμμενα ως προ[κειται και] το προστιμον των τεσσαρων  
 ουγκιων του χρυσι[ου και επερωτηθεις] ωμολογησα] και αναγ[νους]  
 και υπογραψας χειρι εμ[η απε]λυσα + Φλαειως Μακιμωσ ω κε Ευλωγιωσ  
 [στρατιωτης τ]ον προγεγραμμενου αριθμου νιως Αφουνα μαρτυρω τηδε τη  
 95 ομ[ο]λωγι[α] της διαλυσε[ως και επι παρουσια εμη παρεσχεθη] παρα Βαλετινω  
 τω εμω ετερω [Δελματιω τω και Βαλεντινω τα διαλυτικα εξ χρυσι]να, ως πρω  
 κιτε Φλ<sup>ς</sup> Ευτρωπ[ι]ω[ς] . . . . . στρατιωτης του προγ[ε]γραμενου  
 αριθμον μαρτυρω τηδε [τη ομ]ωλωγια τη διαλυσεως και επι παρουσια

Line 72. Φλ<sub>1</sub>: W. misprints Φη. Here follow the signatures and attestations of the parties to the suit and of several witnesses. Each is written by the person making the attestation, and consequently there is considerable variety of handwriting and orthography, as may be seen by reference to the facsimile. That of Delmatius is particularly rough and incorrect, while Valentinus writes a much neater and more educated hand. *τρακωναριος*: i.e. *draconarius*, or standard bearer; in several of the attestations he is called simply *στρατιωτης*.

Line 73. *πεπηνημε*: i.e. *πεποιήμαι*; cf. *συ* for *σοι* below, etc.

Lines 74, 75. *προ τουτου πραθεντος*: W. *προ του παραχωρηθεντος*. Cf. l. 89.

Line 76. *διαφορων . . .*: W. *διαφ[εροντων]*, but the second letter in this line appears to be certainly ο, and in l. 88, where the phrase recurs, there is not room for a longer word than *διαφορων*. *κληρομιας*: for *κληρονομιας*; W. prints it as though the word were written correctly.

Line 77. *δυ[ναμιν]*: W. gives *[ομολογιαν]*, but the first two characters are visible, and are certainly not ομ; the first appears to be δ, the second may be υ, but the reading is doubtful. *πρασεως*: W. *προσεως*.

Line 79. *μηδενα*: corrected from *μεδενα*.

Line 81. *το*: W. om., but it is required to fill the lacuna;

and cf. l. 91. There are several misprints in W.'s version about here.

Line 83. *χειρι εμη*: W. om., but it is required to fill the lacuna; and cf. l. 93. *Δικινιανου*: double letters are surmounted by a circumflex in this hand, even when they belong to different words, as in ll. 85, 87.

Line 88. The filling up of the latter part of this line is conjectural. There are remains of letters at the end of it, but it is difficult to make out what they are.

Line 89. *διαφορων*: cf. note on l. 76. The tails of the longer letters are here visible, which make it nearly certain that the word must be *διαφορων*, and certainly not *μετα πατων των δικαιων*, as W. reads, for which there is not nearly space enough.

Line 93. *Μακιμωσ*: so, apparently, for Maximus; the tops of the letters are lost, which makes the second and third characters rather doubtful.

Line 94. *στρατιωτης*: adopting W.'s conjecture, based on the use of the term *ἐταῖρος* in l. 96. *τηδε*: the third letter is very badly formed and may be intended for a ζ.

Line 95. *ομολωγια*: the lower portions of the letters are visible. W. *ενομολωγια*. [*παρεσχεθη*]: not [*παρεσχεθησ*]αν, as W.; and so again in l. 99.

- [εμη παρεσχεθη] παρα Βαλεντινου τω εμω ετερω Δελματιω τω και Βαλεν  
 100 τινω τα διαλυτικα εξ χρυσινα ως] πρ[ω]κιτε Φλ, Εισαπολλον ο κ, Ευφραντις  
 Φλ, β . . . . [του] προγεγραμ[μενου αριθμου μαρτυρω τηδε] τη ομολογια  
 της διαλυσεω[ς και επι παρουσία εμη παρεσχεθη παρα Βαλεντιν]ου του εμου  
 ετερου Δελματιου τ[ου και Βαλεντινου τα διαλυτικα εξ χρυσιν]α ος προκιτε  
 Αβρ[ααμιος] πρεσβυτερος και ο[ικονομος τη]ς αγιας καθολικης εκκλησιας της Αρσινωειτου  
 105 π[ολεως] . . . . . κενων νιο[ς . . . . μ]αρτυρω [τηδ]ε τη ομολογια της διαλυσεως και επι  
 πα[ρουσια εμη παρεσ]χεθην παρ Ουα[λεντινου] Φλαουειω Δελματιω του κε Ουαλεντινω  
 στρατιωτη τα δια[λυτικα εξ χρυσινα ως προκειται] . . . . . πρεσ[βυτερος και  
 οικονομος της [αγιας καθολικης εκκλησιας της Αρσιν]ωιτον πο  
 λεος καλουμενης Απα . . . . ος υιος Ευλογιου μαρτυρο τηδε τη  
 110 ο[μολογια] της διαλ[υσεως] και [επι] παρουσία εμη παρεσχεθη  
 [παρα Ουαλεντ]ινου το [Φλαο]υε[ιο] Δελματιο το και Ουαλατι  
 ν[ο στρα]τιωτη τα [διαλυτικα εξ χρυσινα ως προκι]τε  
 . . . . . της Αρ[σινωειτων  
 πολεως μαρτυρω τηδε τη ομολ[ογια] διαλυσεως και επι παρουσία εμη παρεσχεθη  
 115 π[αρα Ουαλεντιν]ω τω Φλ, Δε[λματιω τω και Ουαλεντινω σ]τρατιωτη τα διαλυτικα εξ  
 χ[ρυσινα ως προκει]ται Αυρη[λιος] . . . . . δημοτη[ς]  
 της Αρσινωειτ[ων πολεως μαρτυρω τηδε τη ομολ]ογια  
 τη[ς δ]ιαλυσεως [και επι παρουσία εμη παρεσχεθη] παρα Ου  
 αλεντινου τω Φλαυειω [Δελ]ματιω τω και Ουαλεντιω στρα  
 120 τ[ιωτη τα δια]λυτικα [εξ χρυσ]ινα ος π[ροκ]ειται  
 + di em . . . .

Line 101. β . . . . : W. suggests βιαρχος, but it does not suit the traces of letters which remain.

Line 106. Ουαλεντινου : the first two letters are written in a remarkable form, resembling εν or ετ, which is repeated when the word recurs at the end of the line.

Line 109. Ευλογιου : W. ευλαλιου. The upper parts of the letters are lost.

Line 112. στρατιωτη : W. has overlooked this word, part of which is quite visible ; and his reading of the following lines is incorrect in several places.

Line 121. W. gives "di emu epifaniu," but the very slight traces which remain make it impossible to supply the name with any certainty.

### PAPYRUS CXIII. 2.—6th or 7th cent.

THE following is part of a form for the conveyance of property, with full security of title to the new possessor. It is not an actual conveyance of any particular property, but a specimen form, the names of the parties and the sums of money in question being represented by ὁ δέυνα, τόσαδε, etc., which are written above the blanks where the real details should be filled in (*cf.* ll. 59, 65, 67, 70, 72). The beginning and end are lost, and what remains is unfortunately much mutilated, but the general drift of the document is quite discernible. The text has been published by Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, ix. (1887), pp. 264 *seq.*

The papyrus measures 2 ft. 6 inches in length, and from 4 to 6 inches in breadth. It has been folded up from the bottom and the right-hand portion broken off. It is written on both sides, the scribe after finishing one side having turned the sheet over and begun again from the bottom. The writing is semi-cursive, sloping, of a fair size, probably of the end of the 6th century. Letters in combination are frequently only partially formed.



- κατα πρωτοτυπου . . .  
των αυτου δικαιων . . .  
η παρα τοις [μ]εταλημψ[ομενοις] . . .  
η εναγειν η επελθειν . . .  
5 η υπεροριω εχ' η' εκκλ . . .  
θειας και βασιλικης α . . .  
δεησεως επανατεινομενης εις . . .  
ομολογιας και των ετι . . .  
και συνθηκων ει μ . . .  
10 και τους εξ αμφοιν κλ[ηρονομους] . . .  
παραβαινειν επιχειρουν[τ] . . .  
η κληρονομοι η διαδοχοι η δ[ιακατοχοι] . . .  
η εν δικαστηριω . . .  
των ανομασμενω[ν] . . .  
15 πρωτοτυπος η κληρ[ονομοι] η διαδοχοι η διακατοχοι μηδεν  
μεν ωφελεισθαι εκ του επιχειρηματο[ς] ενεχεσθαι δε  
η προσωπον η κληρονομους αυτου η [διαδοχους επιτιμειους]  
τοις ωρισμενοις υπο τ[ων] νομων κατα των παραβαινειν επιχει  
ρουντων ενωμοτους [συνθηκας και καταβολην κατα]  
20 βαλειν λογω προστιμο[ν] και παραβ[ασιας] εκτινειν δε  
το παραβαινειν επιχειρουν προσω[πον] τα αναλωματα  
απαντα τω εμ'μενοντ[ι] μερει η αυτον η κληρονομους η  
διαδοχους χρυσου λιτρ[ας] τοσαυδε λογω προστιμου  
χωρις τινος ευρεσιλογειας . . . . . [και συμπαντα τα]  
25 αναλωματα και δαπανηματα και ζ[ημιωματα] τα συμβησομενα  
τω εμ'μενοντι μερ[ει] παρα την αιτιαν του παραβαινειν  
επιχειρουντος κατα προ . . . . . [η κληρο]  
νομων η διαδοχων οιο[ν]δη[ποτε] προς τω και μετα την  
τουτων απαντων εκτισιν και καταβ[ολην] ισχυν εχειν  
30 και κρατυνεσθαι και [βεβαιουσθαι] . . . . . ταυτην  
την ενωμοτον ομολογι[αν] . . .  
κεφαλαιοις απαντα δε συμπεφ[ωνησθαι] επι των προσωπων  
και επι κληρονομων εκαστου μερο[ν]ς . . .  
αλληλοις υπερ πλειον . . .  
35 και τοις αναφνομενοι[ς] . . .

Line 1. Not *πρωτοτυπον*, as W.: the *v* is written above the line, as is usual throughout this document.

Line 3. W. reads η παρατυπ μεγαλ η μικ[ρ]: but *παρα τοις* seems pretty clear: for the rest, τ and γ are almost indistinguishable in this writing, and the letters after the last μ are almost entirely destroyed; but such abbreviations as W. gives are not found in this papyrus.

Line 7. The last letters are somewhat conjectural.

Line 15. *πρωτοτυπος*: W. *πρωτοτυπους*, but the *v* is very questionable. For the passage which follows, cf. cxiii. 1,

ll. 54-64.

Line 17. η προσωπων: W. reads . . . ωπον; the letters η π are clear, the *ρ* doubtful.

Line 23. λιτρας: the Greek form of the Latin *libra*, = a pound of anything, in this case of gold, which was equivalent to 72 solidi: cf. *Introd. to Pap. cxiii.*, p. 198.

Line 25. These three terms are found coupled together similarly in cxiii. 1, l. 59, etc., and are evidently the regular legal formula for expenses.



- καθ' οἰανδηποτε προφασιν ως αν . . .  
 η της τουτων κληρονομιας η των εκ . .  
 εκαστον αποκρινασθαι . . .  
 και ωσαντως κατα των ε[ερων] . . .  
 40 της αυτων κληρονομιας εχειν αγωγας . . .  
 ει δε τις φασκων εαυτον . . .  
 μη χωρηση μεν κατα πρ . . .  
 χωρηση δε κατα πραγματ . . .  
 και παρ ετερων μεταλαμβανο . .  
 45 στην οικoi αποστησαι εις τ . . .  
 η αναφνομενου ζητηματος . . .  
 η τα πραγματα το ευρισκομ . . .  
 μεταλημψομενοις αλλα απ . . .  
 μη περετερω του ποστου μερ[ους] . . .  
 50 η παραβληθηναι η α . . .  
 κεφαλαιω το μη εμ'μενον . . .

(Reverse.)

- η παραβαινειν επιχειρο[υ]ν . . .  
 ειναι τοις ωρισμεν[ο]ις επι[τιμειοις] . . .  
 τοσονδε λιτρων του χρ[υ]σου . . .  
 55 και τουτο αυτο ομοιως συμ . . .  
 και διαδοχων εκαστο[υ] . . .  
 εμφερομενων τω τ . . .  
 πραγματων υπεθεντο . . .  
 ο δινα και ο δινα . . .  
 60 και τα μετα ταυτα επικτηθη[σομενα]  
 ακεινητα και αυτοκειν[η]τα . . .  
 υποθηκης δικαιω [και επι τουτοις επερωτησαντες]  
 αλληλους και αντεπερωτηθεντες [αλληλοις και πιστεις]  
 ποιουνμενοι παροντε[ς] παρουντων ωμολογησαν]  
 65 ο δινα πεποιημ[αι] τηνδε την ομολογιαν . . .  
 και συνθηκων και διαλυσεων αναιρετ . . .  
 εμον ομογνησιον αδελφον τον δε[ι]να . . .

Line 36. αν : W. απαι, but it is more than doubtful.

Line 37. των : W. παν, but των seems certainly right.

Line 44. The first letter of μεταλαμβανο is written on top of the last of ετερων. There is part of an additional letter at the end of the line, which may be μ, as W. reads, or more probably ν.

Line 45. στην : W. την, but the σ is clear : it is probably the termination of εκαστην.

Line 49. περετερω : = περαιτέρω. ποστου : written above a blank, like ὁ δεινα, etc., elsewhere. W. νοστου (?), not understanding the word.

Line 50. W. omits the η after παραβληθηναι.

Line 54. τοσονδε : presumably for τοσωνδε. A blank has been left for the amount to be filled in, and τοσονδε is written above the blank. So also in l. 70, and with the words ο δινα in ll. 59, 65, 67, 72.

Line 57. τω : W. ταις.

Line 63. αλληλους : W. gives αλλους, clearly by a slip, as the reading is unquestionable.

Line 64. ποιουνμενοι : W. πεισμενοι, but ποιουνμενοι seems nearly certain ; the only letter doubtful is the ν, which should be written above, but is lost in a crack of the papyrus.

κεφαλαια και εγκειμ[ενα . . .  
 προγεγραμμενων και . . .  
 70 προστιμον των του χρυσιου λιτρων τοσ[ωνδε . . .  
 ωμολογησα και αναγνω[υς . . .  
 ο δὲ μαρτυρω τ . . . . .

## PAPYRUS CXIII. 3.—6th cent.

THE following is a portion of a lease of a farm to Aurelius Elias son of Ella, a vine-dresser, from a person of the name of Valentinus. It is in two fragments, each of which has again been broken in two. The beginning is lost, together with some of the attestations of witnesses at the end; and the lines are imperfect at the left-hand side, to what extent cannot be exactly determined. The document should be compared with the following one, Pap. CXIII. 4, which is a similar lease of a farm. In both cases the landowner receives three-fourths of the produce (and in the case of the hay five-sixths), the tenant retaining only one-fourth. The tenant is responsible for maintaining the ground in good condition, and also undertakes the binding of the hay; but the landlord is to undertake the cutting of it, and to provide the animals required for carrying it, and he also supplies the seed in the first instance. The lease is for an indefinite time, terminable at the pleasure of the landlord, and this was the usual practice, to judge from the documents which have come down to us.

Wessely prints the text of this papyrus in *Wiener Studien*, ix., pp. 260 and 263; but he gives the two portions separately, and apparently did not see or did not identify the second fragment of the second portion. The two portions, when their fragments are reunited, measure respectively  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width by  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in height, and  $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 4 in. The writing is a plain large upright semi-cursive hand, with the exception of the subscriptions in the last four lines, which are in the hands of the several parties and witnesses.

. . . . . [εν τοις] προ[ας]τοις τησδε της πολεως εν δυσει τοποθεσι[α] . . . ουρα  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . πλ, ελαττ, μετα παντος αυτων του δικαιου επι χρονον οσον βουλει  
 απο των μελλοντ[ων]  
 [καρπων της εισιουσης] . . . δεκατης ἑνδικτιονος και αυτης και εκ των περιγιγνομενων εξ  
 αυτων καρπων  
 [απο μεν των οσπρεω]ν διαφερει σοι τω Ουαλεντινω μερη τρεια καμοι μερος εν απο δε  
 του χορτου  
 5 [σοι μερη πεντε και εμοι μερος εν και] επαναγκες επιτελεσω τα προς την καλλιεργειαν των  
 αυτων αρουρων εργα

Line 4. διαφερειν : W. prints "διαφερ<sup>sic</sup>," but the reading is clearly διαφερειν.

- [παντα ακαταφρονητως και ακαταγνω]στως ποιεισθαι δε με και την δεσιν του παντος χορτου των δε παντοιων  
 [τετραποδων και προχρεια]ς σπερματων και κοπης η και τιλσεως του χορτου ορωντων προς σε τον γεουχον  
 . . . . . τητος μονων των σπερματων και του μισθου του αλωεισμου  
 . . . . . επιλαγχανω εις το εμον μέρος χορτον τουτον σοι διαπιπρασκευ  
 10 . . . . . ως νομιτενεται χορτου γομους εξηκοντα μη εξειναι δε μοι  
 . . . . . ρτον μητε μην σε τον Ουαλεντινον ζητειν δεξασθαι συνηθειαν περι τουτου  
 . . . . . s Αυρηλιος Ηλιας υιος Ελλα αμπελουργος ο προκιμενος μεμισθωμαι τω προγεγραμ  
 μενω . . . . . πλει]ων ελαττων και ακολουθως πασιν τοις προγεγραμμενοις ως προκειτι και απελυσα  
 . . . . . τ]ης Αρσινοειτων πολεως αξιωθεις εγραψα υπερ αυτου π[αρο]ντος . . . .  
 . . του ον . .  
 15 . . . . . πολεως μαρτυρω τηδε [τη] μισθωσι ος προκειται + Αυρηλιος . . . .

Line 6. *ακαταγνω]στως*: W. prints *αυτως*, and then remarks that it stands here as equivalent to *ωσαντως*; but in the first place he does not mention that the whole left-hand portion of the papyrus is wanting, and further the letter before *τ* appears to be *σ*, so that the whole word is probably *ακαταγνωστως*, as in Pap. cxiii. 4, l. 6, which papyrus is identical with this in formula. Comparison with it shows how to fill the lacunæ here.

Line 7. In this line dots are thrice inserted to indicate the true divisions of words.

Line 8 seq. W. prints this as a separate piece, though the writing and character of the papyrus are the same as the preceding, and though the manner in which each is broken

in two pieces is the same in both; and he does not appear to have seen the fragment comprising the right-hand portion. *αλωεισμον*: presumably a threshing machine.

Line 10. *γομους*: οἱ τομους.

Line 12. This and the two following lines are written in a different and smaller hand, being the autograph attestation of Aurelius.

Line 15. This line is in a third hand, that of a witness to the document, still smaller and with several blunders in orthography. The name Aurelius is the beginning of another attestation.

#### PAPYRUS CXIII. 4.—A.D. 595.

THIS is another contract for the lease of a farm. The lessor is one Phœbammon, who is described as *ταβουλάριος* of the town of Arsinoë. The lessees are Aurelius John, who has also a Coptic name, and Aurelius Castous, both agriculturists. The papyrus is in two pieces, which are now brought together, and to judge from the analogy of the preceding document a line or two must have been lost between them. The breadth of the papyrus is 8 inches; the height of the first fragment is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and of the second  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches (including the last six lines, of which we have only the first letters). The first four lines, containing the introductory formula and date, are in a different hand from the rest. Evidently it is a form drawn up in the government office, the substance being filled in by the parties concerned. The rest of the document is written in a clear, rather ornamental, hand, of fair size. The letter *υ* is often written above the line; when otherwise, it generally has an accent. The date is the 14th of Pauni, A.D. 595, almost, if not quite, the last day of the 13th indiction-year, and in the 13th year of the Emperor Maurice. Wessely gives the texts of the two portions separately (*Wiener Studien*, ix. 259 and 261); but they are printed together by the *Palæographical Society* (Series II., pl. 124).

- \* εν ονοματι του κυριου και δεσποτου Ἰησου Χριστου  
του θεου και σωτηρος ημων βασιλειας του ευσεβεστατου  
ημων δεσποτου Φλ, Μαυρικιου Τιβεριου του αιωνι Αυγουστ,  
ετους ιγ Παννι ιδ τελ, τρισκαιδεκατης ὥ, εν Αρσι  
5 Αuryηλιοι Ιωαννης ο και Φθαρουαουμβ υιος Παμουν  
και Καστους υιος Φιλοξενου γεωργοι απο της Αρσινούτων πολε[ως]  
απο αμφοδου Μοηρεως τω θανμασιωτατω Φοιβαμμωνι δημ[ο]  
σιω ταβουλαριω ταυτης της Αρσινούτων πολεως υιω του μακαριου  
Μηνα \* Ομολογουμεν εξ αλληλεγγυης μεμισθωσθαι  
.....  
10 οσο[ν βουλει απ]ο καρπων της εισιουσης πεντεκαιδεκατης ιν,  
και εκ των περιγιγνωμενων εξ αύτων καρπων ενιαύσιως απο με[ν]  
των [ο]σπρεων διαφερει' σοι τω Φοιβαμμωνι μερη τρια και ημι  
μερος [ε]ν απο δ[ε] τ[ο]υ χορτου εχειν σε μερη πεντε και ημιν μερος εν  
και επ[α]ναγκες επιτελεσωμεν τα προς την καλλιεργειαν των  
15 αυτων αρουρων εργα παντα ακαταγνωστως και ακαταφρονητως  
ποιεισ[θ]αι δε ημ]ας και την δεσιν του χορτου της δε κοτης του  
αύτου χορτου και παντοιων τετραποδων και προχρειας σπερματων  
ορωντων προς σε \* αιξερουμενων μεντοι των σπερματων και σμηγ  
ματων και κοιτασμου προβατων εν καιρω σπορας σύν μισθου ολού ισου κο[ινου]  
20 απο κοινοτητος επαφειναι δε ημας εις το χλωρον αιγας τρεις και παρασ  
χομεν σοι τυρους ευαρεστους εκατον πεντηκοντα και εριφια ευαρεστα  
δύο κ[αι] .....  
αναλ  
μηνος  
25 και επ  
... τους  
τινος  
\*

Line 4. The thirteenth indiction-year in the reign of Maurice ended in Pauni, A.D. 595. As Maurice was proclaimed emperor on the 13th of August, A.D. 582, one would have expected his thirteenth year, according to the usual Egyptian method of reckoning, to have begun on the 29th of August, A.D. 593; but there is evidence that from the time of Justinian (A.D. 527-565) the regnal years of the emperors were dated from the day of their accession, not from the 1st of Thoth. Thus the 13th year of Maurice would begin on the 13th of August, A.D. 594. Cf. Pap. xiii. 5 (c), 6 (d), and Wilcken, *Hermes*, xix. p. 295.

Line 5. Φθαρουαουμβ: the name is Coptic, and the last letter represents an f in sound.

Line 7. The street Μοηρέως is also mentioned in others of these documents.

Line 8. ταβουλαριω: W. βουλαριω, without noticing the two preceding characters.

Line 9. αλληλεγγυης: W. αλληγ γυης, presumably by a slip in copying, the reading being clear.

Line 10. Only the lower portions of the letters of this line

remain. The restoration has been previously made by W.

Line 12. οσπρεων: the Etymologicum Magnum rejects the form οσπρεον for οσπριον. It is, however, given by Ducange. διαφερειν: the ν had been omitted, and is inserted above the line.

Line 13. ημιν: should be ημας, but the scribe has been misled by the analogy of ημιν in the line above.

Line 18. αιξερουμενων: so, for εξαιρουμενων. W. takes no notice of the character preceding this word, which is either a φ or a cross.

Line 19. ισου κοινου: W. does not notice the last word; it is doubtful what it is, but there is clearly something besides ισου.

Line 20. το: not τον, as W. reads. χλωρον: the ω has been at first miswritten, and is rewritten above the line.

Line 21. πεντηκοντα: written at first πεντεκοντα, but corrected. W. misprints πενηκοντα.

Line 26. The first two letters are doubtful; W. reads αυτους. This and the following lines are in a different hand from the body of the document.



## PAPYRUS CXIII. 5 (a).—A.D. 498.

THIS and the five following documents [CXIII. 5 (b, c), 6 (a, b, c)] are leases of rooms or houses in the city of Arsinoë. Three are complete; of the others we have the earlier portions. The general form is the same in all. First comes the ascription ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ., which is, however, omitted in 5 (a) and 5 (b). Then the date, which is given either by the regnal year of the emperor, the day of the month, and the indiction-year, as in 5 (c), 6 (b), or by the consulship (the emperor himself being the consul in one case), day of month, and indiction, as in 5 (a), 5 (b), or by the day of month and indiction alone, as in 6 (a), 6 (c). Next come the names of the parties to the lease, with their descriptions, the lessor being sometimes placed first, and sometimes the lessee; but the latter always is in the nominative. A cross follows, to indicate the beginning of the body of the document, which describes the character and situation of the property in question, the date of commencement of the lease, and the rent. Then comes an acknowledgment by the lessee, and finally there is the subscription of the συμβολαιογράφος or clerk, which appears generally to have been written in both Greek and Latin characters. The document is endorsed with a note of its contents. The dates of the present group of documents range between A.D. 498 and 633, the emperors mentioned being Anastasius I., Maurice, and Heraclius. All belong to Arsinoë, and we learn the names of several of the streets (ἄμφοδοι) of that city, they being specified in the description of the habitations let, and sometimes in that of the persons concerned. The texts of all have been published by Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, ix. (1887), and of all but 6 (c) by the *Palaeographical Society*, Series II., part 7 (1890).

The present papyrus measures  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , and only contains the beginning of a lease. The lessor is Flavius Plutammion, one of the "campiductores" of the corps of Trans-tigritani; the lessee is Aurelius Thomas. The date is A.D. 498, being the month Phamenoth in the 6th indiction in the reign of Anastasius, and the year after the second consulship of that emperor, which fell in 497. As no 6th indiction falls within the reign of Anastasius II., this must be Anastasius I. (491–518). The writing is semi-cursive, upright and fairly regular. The first three lines appear to be in a different hand; the forms of such documents would probably be ready in the office before the occasion for filling up the body of them occurred. The text is given by Wessely, *l. c.*, p. 262, and *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 123.

\* μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τ[ο]ῦ δεσποτοῦ  
 ἡμῶν Φλ, Αναστασιου του αιωνιου  
 Αυγουστου το β Φαμενωθ, κζ 5 ὑ,  
 Φλ, Πλουταμμωνι απο καμπιδου  
 5 κτορων αριθμου των γενναιο  
 τατων Τρανστιγριτανων υια του

Line 3. το β: with *υπατιαν* = after his consulship for the second time. We find years not unfrequently dated as *after* the consulship of some notable person.

Line 4. καμπιδουκτορων: the spelling favours the form *campiductor*, as against the more generally accepted *campidoctor*.

της μακαριας μνημης  
 Θεοφιλου γεουχουντι επι της Αρσι  
 νοειτων πολεως Αυρηλιος  
 10 Θωμας υιος Παυλ[ο]υ απαιτητης  
 [απο της αυτης πολ]εως απο αμφο  
 [δου] . . . . . υπογραφων  
 . . . . . [ομολο]γω μεμισ  
 [θωσθαι] . . . . .

Endorsed :—

† μισθ, υπαυλεως . .

Line 10. Παυλεν : the reading is doubtful.

Line 11. The supplement is by W.

## PAPYRUS CXIII. 5 (δ).—A.D. 543.

**L**EASE of a room by a person whose name is partially lost, but who was keeper of the public granaries, to Aurelius Sambas and Aurelius Cosmas. The date is given, not by the year of the reigning emperor, but by the consul, Basil. Basil was consul in 541, and until A.D. 566 the years are dated from that era. No number of years after the consulship is here specified, but it is stated to be in the 6th indiction-year, *i.e.* A.D. 542-3; and as the month is Mecheir the 6th, the precise date is the 31st of January, A.D. 543, at the beginning of the second year after the consulship of Basil. The papyrus measures 5½ inches by 4, only the first part remaining, with several lacunæ; the writing is of fair size and clearness. (Wessely, p. 261; *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 123.)

† μετα τ[η]ν ὑπτιαν Φλ, Βασιλιου του  
 λαμπρ, Μεχειρ ̅ εκτης [ιν] εν Αρσι,  
 Αὐρηλιοι Σαμβας υιος Ακωου και  
 Κοσμας υιος Κλωτυχου ιχθυοπρ  
 5 απο της Αρσινοϊτων πολεως απο  
 αμφοδου ο μιν Σαμβας Ανκιων  
 ο δε Κοσμας Εκκλησιας καινω  
 [Αν]ρηλιω Αν . . . τω θανμ[ασ]·  
 μεσιτη δημοσιων ὀρριων  
 10 τησδε της πολεως νιω Νειλαμ̅,  
 Ομολογουμεν εξ αλληλεγγυης  
 μεμισθωσθαι παρα σου απο των

Line 1. ὑπτιαν : W. υπατιαν, which is, of course, the word intended; but the α appears to have been omitted.

Line 2. εν : W. επ, as elsewhere.

Line 3. Αὐρηλιοι : the name Aurelius must have been an extremely common one among the lower classes in Egypt, as it occurs repeatedly in these documents.

Line 4. Κλωτυχου : or Κλωταχου. W. κλωεχου (?).

Line 8. Αν . . . : W. Ανουπ, but the last two letters are lost in a lacuna, and the one preceding them does not appear to be an ο.

Line 9. ὀρριων : ὄρριον (more commonly ὠρείον) is the Græcised form of *horreum*.

υπαρχοντων σοι επ αμφοδου Γυμνασιου  
 εν οικια ανεωγμενη εις βορρα,  
 15 κελλιον εν ανεωγμενον

Endorsed :— μισθ, κελλιου ενος εν αμφ, Γυμν . . . . .

Line 15. κελλιον : the Greek equivalent of the Latin *cella*; no Latin form *cellium* is found.

PAPYRUS CXIII. 5 (c).—A.D. 600.

THE date is Mesore (*i.e.* August) A.D. 600, the 18th year of the Emperor Maurice, or as he is always described in these documents, Mauricius Tiberius. The papyrus measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ; and the writing is sloping and somewhat rough. Nothing remains but the opening formula and the date and the name of the lessor. (Wessely, p. 261; *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 123.)

\* εν ονοματι του κυριου και δεσποτου  
 Ιησου Χριστου του θεου και σωτηρος ημ,  
 βασιλ/ του θειοτατου Σ ευσεβ, ημ, δεσποτου  
 Φλ, Μανρικιου Τιβεριου του αιων, Αυγουστου  
 5 Σ αυτοκρ, ετους ιη Μεσορη ιε δ ιν, εν Αρ  
 . . . . . τιω τω πανευφημω παγα  
 και στρατηγ]ω της Αρσινούτων και Θεοδοσιου  
 πολιτων] . . .

Line 3. βασιλ/ : W. reads *και*; the characters are rough and doubtful; but the first is β, and βασιλείας is the word required, according to the usual formula. The symbol Σ stands for *καί*, and so again in l. 5.

Line 5. εν Αρ : *i.e.* εν Ἀρσινούτων πόλει; this circumlocution seems always to be used when the name is written in full, rather

than the simple name Ἀρσινόη.

Line 6. παγα : *i.e.* παγάρχῃ. W. (*Prolegomena ad Pap. Graec. novam collectionem*, p. 17) quotes another instance of the title πάγαρχος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἀρσινούτων πόλεως καὶ Θεοδοσιου-πολιτῶν.

PAPYRUS CXIII. 6 (a).—Late 6th cent.

LEASE of a house or a room from a woman named Aurelia Eudoxia to another named Aurelia Maria. The date is uncertain, the name of the emperor not being given; but it appears to be of about the end of the sixth century. The papyrus measures 13 inches by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ , and is a good deal rubbed in places. (Wessely, p. 249; *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 125.)

\* εν ονο[ματ]ι [τ]ης [αγ]ιας [και ο]μο  
 ουσιου τρ[ιαδος] πατρ[ος και] υιου  
 και αγιου πνευματος και τ[ης] δεσπ<sup>ο</sup>,  
 ημων της αγιας θεοτο[κου κ]αι παν

Line 2. W. omits *και*, but something is required to fill the space between *πατρ* and *υιου*.

- 5 των των αγίων Φαρμο[υθι] ζ [ιε] ιν, εν Αρ  
 Αιρηλια Μαρια θυγατηρ Αιωνος  
 λαχανοπρατ[ου] απο της Αρσινοι  
 των π[ο]λεως Αιρηλια Χαριδος  
 [θ]υγατρι Ευδοξια απο της αυτης  
 10 πολεως κ ομολογω μεμισθωσθαι  
 [παρα] σου απο των υπαρχοντων  
 τη επι τησδε της πολεως  
 επ αμφου Ταμιων ητοι Κατω  
 τερου τοπον ενα ανεωγμ<sup>ς</sup>,  
 15 [ει]ς νοτον μετα παντος αυτου του  
 δικαιου εφ οσον χρονον βουλει  
 [α]πο νεομηνιας του οντος  
 μηνος Φαρμουθι της [π]αρ  
 ουσης πεντε και δεκατης ιν,  
 20 παρεχουσης μου της μισθωσ  
 αμενης υπερ ενοικιου αυτου  
 ενιαυσως χρυσιου νομισματιο[υ]  
 τριτον ως νομιτενεται χρ ν<sup>ο</sup> γ/ ως [ν],  
 η μισθωσις κυρια και επερ ωμ,  
 25 Μαρια θυγατηρ Αιωνος· στοιχει μοι  
 η παρουσα μισθωσις ως προκειται  
 ✕ di em[u] . . . . .  
 :

Endorsed, in characters which are almost wholly obliterated, and only capable of being reconstructed from the contents of the document:—

[✕ μισ]θ, τοπου ε[ν]ος επ α[μ]φ[ι] Ταμι]ων ητο[ι] Κατ[ω]τ[ε]ρ υπ Αυρ Μαρίας θ[υ]γα]τρ Αιων . . .  
 ε[ι]ς Αυρ Χαριδ[ο]ς

Line 5. Φαρμουθι: W. gives *φαρμοθη*; but the last three letters are quite lost, and the ζ which follows is only doubtfully visible. The number of the indiction is supplied from l. 19. W. reads *επ* for *εν*, as elsewhere.

Line 6. θυγατηρ Αιωνος: W. prints this as *θυγατηρ α ιωνος*; and so again in l. 25.

Line 8. Χαριδος: so MS. probably, not *Χαριδου* as read by W.

Line 9. Ευδοξια: W. *ευδοξιας*, but no *ς* is fairly traceable. It probably goes with *Αιρηλια*, as part of the lessor's name, while *Χαρις* is the name of her father (or mother).

Line 12. τη: so MS. apparently; there are no traces of the letters *αν* having ever been written before it. We should have expected *σοι*, but the clerk may have been misled by the analogy of such phrases as that which occurs in the parallel

passage in the next papyrus, ll. 19, 20.

Line 13. αμφον: so MS. for *αμφοδου*.

Line 23. The characters at the end of the line are huddled and obscure. They are simply the repetition in abbreviated form of the sum which has just been named in full. Similar repetitions are found in the other papyri of this description, corresponding to the filling in of a modern cheque in words and in figures.

Line 24. This and the two following lines are in a different hand. επερ ωμ: *i.e.* επερωτηθείσα ωμολόγησα, cf. 6 (δ), l. 38, etc.

Line 25. μοι: not the lessor, but the lessee, as appears from 6 (ε), l. 40.

Line 27. Wessely gives the name *Cosma*; but not enough is left to determine this.



## PAPYRUS CXIII. 6 (b).—A.D. 633.

LEASE of two rooms from Flavius Gerontius, *comes*, to Aurelius Gerontius, an attendant at the public baths. The date is in Mesore of the 7th indiction, the 23rd year of the Emperor Heraclius, *i.e.* A.D. 633, and the tenancy itself dates from the end of the previous indiction-year, *i.e.* the middle of the preceding Pauni. The papyrus measures 13 inches by 3, and has one or two lacunæ. The writing is cursive, and smaller than that of the preceding document. (Wessely, p. 244; *Pal. Soc.* II. pl. 125.)

✠ εν ονοματι του κυριου και δεσπ  
 Ιησου Χριστου του θεου και  
 σωτηρος ημων βασιλειας  
 του ευσεβεστατου και φιλανθρ  
 5 ημων δεσποτου Φλ, Ηρακλειου  
 του αιωνιου Αυγουστου και αυτο  
 κρατορος ετους κγ Μεσορη ιθ ζ ιν, εν Αρ  
 Φλ, ΓερONTιω τω περιβλεπτω  
 κομετι υίω του της λαμπρας  
 10 μνημης Κολλουθου απο της  
 Αρσινούτων πολεως Αρρηλ  
 ΓερONTιος περιχυτης δημο,  
 βαλανιου απο της αυτης πολεως  
 υίος Φοιβαμμωνος οικων  
 15 επ αμφοδου Μουϊαριο ✕ ομολογ[ω]  
 μεμι[σ]θωσθαι παρα της υμετερας  
 λαμπροτητος απο των υπαρχον  
 αυτη επι τη[σδ]ε της πολεως  
 και του αυτο[ν] αμ[φ]οδου εσωθεν  
 20 του εκειθε εποικιου βλεπο[ν]  
 εις λιβα εν οικια ανεωγμεν[η]  
 εις απηλιωτην εν τω κλε . . .  
 τοπους δυο ανεωγμενου[ς]  
 ενα μεν εις βορρα τον [δε]  
 25 αλλον εις απηλιωτην με[τ]  
 αυτων του διου εφ οσον

Line 7. It is observable that this lease is retrospective, the tenancy dating from Pauni, at the end of the 6th indiction (l. 29), *i.e.* two months before the date of the lease.

Line 9. *κομετι*: the title *comes* was used in a variety of senses under the Empire, and there is nothing to show which is intended here.

Line 22. *εν τω κλε* . . . : W. reads *εν τω αναγ*, but the visible

characters do not at all bear this out.

Line 24. *βορρα*: after this word the scribe has apparently written the letters *λο*, perhaps from some confusion with *αλλον* in the next line. W. *βορρανοτον*, without observing the traces of writing following the last *ν*.

Line 26. *διου*: a slip for *δικαιον*; cf. preceding papyrus, l. 16.

χρονον βουλ[ει απ]ο του  
 παρελθου[τος μη]νος Παύνι .  
 τελει της π[αρελθου]σης εκτης ιν,  
 30 και παρασχω [σοι] υπερ ε[ν]οικιου  
 αυτων ενιαυσίως χρυσιου  
 νομισματιου ημισυ τεταρτον  
 χρ<sup>ο</sup> ν̄ δ̄ ως [ν]ομιτευεται του  
 τ̄ εστιν υπερ [μεν] ενος τοπου  
 35 νομισματιου [τρ]ιτον και υπερ  
 του αλλου το[π]ου νομισματιου  
 τριτον δωδεκατον η μισ  
 θω[σ]ις κυρια και επεθ ωμ,  
 Αυρηλιος Γερωντιος  
 40 περιχυτης του δημοσιου βαλα[νι]<sup>ον</sup>  
 ύιος Φοιβαμμωνος στοιχει μ[οι]  
 παντα ως προκειται ✠  
 ✠ di emu iustu ✠ δι εμου ίουστου ✠

Endorsed :—

✠ μισθ, τοπ, β επ αμφοδ/ Μο[νι]αριου γενομ<sup>ο</sup> υπο Αυθ Γερωντιου περιχυτ, εις Φλ, Γερωντιου  
 τον περιβλ/ κομ<sup>ο</sup> ✠

Line 30. *ενοικιου* : the second letter might equally be π ; but *ενοικιου* is supported by the preceding papyrus, l. 21, and the sense "rent" is more suitable than that of "house-furniture."

Line 32. *νομισματιον* : W. *νομισματιον*, but the *ν* seems clear.

Line 33.  $\nu \delta$  : i.e.  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$  of a solidus, the repetition in figures of the sum just stated in words.

Line 34. *μεν* : W. reads *του*, but there are evident traces of an *ε* in the lacuna, which is best accounted for by writing *μεν*.

Line 35. *νομισματιον* : W. *νομισματιον*.

Line 37. *τριτον δωδεκατον* : i.e.  $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{12} = \frac{5}{12}$ .

Line 43. The subscription of the clerk, or *συμβολαιογράφος*, in Greek and Latin characters.

### PAPYRUS CXIII. 6 (c).—6th or 7th cent.

THIS document differs somewhat from the others of this group, in being a loan instead of a lease. It is apparently an acknowledgment by two Jews, named Abraham and Amoun, of the advance by one Gerontius, steward to the general Theodosius, of the price of some hay which they were to deliver in the ensuing spring. The first two lines are lost, and the date is not given with sufficient completeness for us to be certain of the year, but it is probably late in the 6th or early in the 7th century. The papyrus measures  $14\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and is a good deal rubbed. The writing is cursive, but not completely so. (Wessely, p. 250.)

του θεου και [σω]τηρος ημω[ν]  
 Φαωφι ε . [ι]ν, εν Αρ  
 τω λαμπρο[τα]τω Γερων

Line 1. Not more than two lines are lost at the beginning, the ✠ which invariably heads these documents being visible where the left-hand corner of the papyrus remains intact. They would probably have run according to the formula in the preceding papyrus, *εν ονοματι του κυριου και δεσποτου Ιησου*

*Χριστου*.

Line 2. Wessely reads *ε* as the number of the indiction ; but no sufficient traces are left of the original character. It should rather be *θ*, as in l. 32 the 10th indiction is spoken of as the one next ensuing.

- 5           τιω χαρτουλ[αρ]ιω ουσιας  
           Θεοδοσιο[υ το]ν ενδοξ  
           στρατηλατ[ου α]πο τη[ς]  
           Αρσινόιτων πολεως  
           Αυρηλιοι Αβρααμιος  
 10          υιος Λαην και [Α]μουν υιος  
           Δ[ανι]τ απο εποικιον  
           Κανεισαν του Θεοδοσ,  
           πολιτου νομου χ ομο  
           λογουμην εσχηκεναι  
           ημας παρα της σης λαμπρ,  
 15          δια χειρος εις ιδιαν ημων  
           χρειαν χρυσιου νομ,  
           εν ημισυ ως νομ,  
           χρ ν<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>λ</sup> ως ν, εγω μεν  
           Αβρααμιος νομισμ,  
 20          ημισυ εγω δε Αμουν  
           το εν ν[ομισ]μα κε  
           φ[αλαιον ον] παρ ημιν  
           εις τιμην χορτου  
           ζηρου κομητικου  
 25          πρωτοκοπου ευαρ,  
           τελειου δεματος τη  
           φαινομενη τιμη απο  
           κει την δε αποδο  
           σιν αυτων ποιησομ,  
 30          αυτη τω και εκ των  
           συν θεω καρπων εισ  
           ιουσης δεκατης ν,  
           εν τω εποικιω αναμ  
           φιβολως εξ υπαρ  
 35          χοντων ημων  
           παντων και επερρ  
           ωμολ, Αυρ, Αβρααμ[ιος]  
           υιος Λαην S Αμουν υιος

Line 4. χαρτουλαριω : *chartularius* commonly is equivalent to *commentariensis*, "scribe" or "secretary"; from the conjunction of *oudias* here it probably represents a steward of the property of a wealthy man.

Line 8. Αβρααμιος : W. reads *αβραμιος*, but there seem to be more characters than these, and the double α is found in the other places where the name occurs in this papyrus.

Line 9. υιος : except from the context the word would be illegible.

Line 11. Κανεισαν : W. *κωεισαν*; the papyrus is much rubbed, but there seems to be a ν before the ε, preceded by another

letter.

Line 22. κεφαλαιον ον : following W.'s restitution, based on two Paris papyri (xvii. and xviii.) with identical formulæ.

Line 25. *Ι.ε.* the first spring crop of hay.

Line 26. δεματος : apparently in the sense of "principal."

Line 30. τω και : apparently, as W. indicates, for τῷ καιρῷ.

Line 31. εισιουσης : this term is used with considerable looseness, the month Phaophi being far removed from the beginning of the indiction. It therefore cannot mean "the *now* beginning indiction," but the one next approaching.

Δαύιτ οι προκ' στοιχει  
 40 ημιν ως προκ/ †  
 χμγ  
 † di emu . . . . .

Endorsed :—

\* Αβρααμιου νιου Λαηυ S Αμουν νιου Δανιτ [χβ ν'] α\ ως νι εις τον λαμπρ Γέροντιον  
 χαρτουλαρ †

Line 39. στοιχει : the third and fourth letters are very obscure.  
 Line 40. There is no second στοιχει after προκ/, as W. prints it, but merely a cross.

Line 41. χμγ : cf. Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, 1887, p. 253, where he gives reasons to show that this formula, which occurs

also in other documents, stands for χειρὸς μου γραφή, a sort of certificate by the clerk, who appends his name. W. reads the name here Ger . . , but it is too confused to be at all certain, and the Greek version which follows is still more so.

### PAPYRUS CXIII. 7.—7th cent.

THE next section of the Fayúm documents includes those connected in one shape or another with accounts of receipts or expenditure. The chief difficulty arising out of them is that of determining the meaning of the various symbols and abbreviations of which they are full. This can only be done with certainty when there is a large amount of material of the same kind to work upon; and there are therefore some points in connection with the texts now given which can only be cleared up when the papyri from the same source which are now at Berlin, Vienna, and Paris have been made available. The one first given here appears to be an account of wine received and given away. It is in two columns, the first containing receipts, commencing in each line with the word δεχθ, *i.e.* δεχθέν or δεχθέντα, and giving the name of the person from whom the money is received; while in the second each line begins with the abbreviation δº/, which apparently stands for δοθέν or δοθέντα, followed by the name or description of the person on whom the wine was bestowed. The amount of wine is then stated, the total in each case applying to both the receipt and the expenditure of the line in question. The readings are sometimes doubtful, especially in the column of expenditure. The amounts of wine are stated in the measure known as κοῦρι = κόρος = Hebrew cor = about 120 gallons, which is found not unfrequently in Coptic and late Greek papyri.

The papyrus measures 13½ inches by 7, and is a little ragged in places, but rarely so as to affect the text. The text has been published by Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, xii. 87). Some scraps of accounts are written on the *verso*.

|                                                            |                                    |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|
| * γν <sup>ω</sup> οιναρ, δεχθ, παρ . . . πρ . . . ιο . . . |                                    |        |
| δεχθ, παρ κυρ Μαρτυρ                                       | S δº/ Αρκαδι                       | κουρ β |
| δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ον</sup> κυρ Σαμβα                        | S δº/ Σαλιου                       | κουρ δ |
| δεχθ, παρ Ιουλιανου ζυγ <sup>ρ</sup>                       | [S δº/ ευ <sup>τ</sup> οικ/ χλαιτα | κουρ β |

Line 1. γν<sup>ω</sup> οιναρ : *i.e.* γνωρισμός (or γνώμων) οιναρίου.

Line 2. κυρ = κυρίου. The symbol S is equivalent to καί. κουρ,

β; or α. It is very hard to distinguish α and β in this hand.

Line 4. ζυγ<sup>ρ</sup> : *i.e.* ζυγιστάτου (Wessely).



|    |                                                                           |                                             |           |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 5  | δεχθ, παρ Φιλοξενου νοταρ                                                 | § δ°/ ευ' οικ' / χλαιτα                     | κουρ δ    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ Θεοδωρακι/                                  |                                             | κουρ γ    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ Αντονιου                                    | § δ°/ λαχανοπρ <sup>τ</sup>                 | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> οικ <sup>ο</sup> ο τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ Αθανασι/ | § δ°/ τ <sup>ου</sup> λαχανοπρ <sup>τ</sup> | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ Αγαθου                                      | § δ°/ τ <sup>ου</sup> λαχανοπρ <sup>τ</sup> | κουρ β    |
| 10 | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> Ριπαρ                                           | § δ°/ Π[α]υλ <sup>ου</sup> σκυ <sup>τ</sup> | κουρ .    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ λογιστου                                                        | § δ°/ τ <sup>ου</sup> λαχανοπρ <sup>τ</sup> | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ <sup>τ</sup> Μηνα                                               | § δ°/ τ <sup>η</sup> μουχιτισσ,             | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ Τιμ <sup>ο</sup>                            | § δ°/ τιεραπμιδ <sup>ο</sup> /              | κουρ δ    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ <sup>τ</sup> κυρ Διδυ/                                          | § δ°/ τ <sup>ου</sup> σκουβιτορ             | κ[ουρ] .] |
| 15 | δεχθ, παρ <sup>τ</sup> υι/ τ <sup>ου</sup> Σαλ . . .                      | § δ°/ ευ' οικ/ τ <sup>η</sup> αλαειτ,       | κουρ .    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ Αναστα[σι/] μαμπερ . .                                          | [§ δ°]/ ευ' αι . . . .                      | κουρ .    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ Γεωργιου κουβιτι                                                |                                             | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ Κομ <sup>τ</sup> /                                              |                                             | κουρ β    |
|    | δεχθ, παρ Αλεξανδρ                                                        | § δ°/ [Μα]ριαμ .                            | κουρ γ    |
| 20 | δεχθ, παρ Μ . . . .                                                       | δ°                                          | κουρ α    |
|    |                                                                           |                                             | κουρ      |
|    |                                                                           |                                             | κουρ      |
|    |                                                                           |                                             | κουρ      |

Line 6. The name Theodoracius is confirmed by Pap. cxiii. 10, l. 3. The column for expenditure is left blank in this line.

Line 7. λαχανοπρ<sup>τ</sup>: *i.e.* λαχανοπράτων; the genitive seems explicable only as one of the kind which is usually accompanied by ὑπέρ, denoting object.

Line 13. Τιμ<sup>ο</sup>: *i.e.* Τιμοθέου.

Line 14. Διδυ/: *i.e.* Διδύμου. σκουβιτορ: *i.e.* excubitoris.

Line 16. Αναστ . . . : only parts of these letters are visible,

but they are consistent with reading Ἀναστασί(ου).

Line 17. κουβιτι: perhaps, as Wessely suggests, for σκουβίτορος, as in l. 14.

Line 18. [Μα]ριαμ: the name has been inserted in fainter ink.

Lines 21-23. The last three lines are blank, except for the word *κουρ*, evidently waiting to be filled up later. In ll. 21 and 22, however, there has been an obliteration in the receipts column.

### PAPYRUS CXIII. 8 (a).—7th cent.

THERE are several difficulties attaching to the following statement of accounts. In the first place the meaning of the abbreviation *πι/*, which contains the statement of the nature of the accounts, is not evident. Wessely conjectures that it stands for *πίθος*, meaning wine-casks, which is possible, but requires confirmation. Secondly, there is a difficulty as to the second part of the accounts themselves. The first part apparently contains a list of sums due, and the total, 270 νομίσματα, tallies with the items given. The second part gives the sums already received, and states the total as 258 νομίσματα and 10¼ κεράτια. There is some difficulty in accounting for this total from the items, as is shown in the notes below; but a more important question is raised by the statement of the remainder still due, which is given as 11 νομίσματα and 7 κεράτια. The papyrus is mutilated after the figure 7, so that we may easily suppose the figures denoting the fraction  $\frac{3}{4}$  to have followed. But this remainder will only make up the required total of 270 νομίσματα if 18 κεράτια make 1 νόμισμα. Ordinarily in the Greek documents of the Byzantine period, as has been stated in the introduction to Pap. CXIII., νόμισμα is the equivalent of the Latin solidus, and

κεράτιον of siliqua, the twenty-fourth part of a solidus. But νόμισμα properly means simply the standard coin of a state, and the standard coin of Egypt continued till comparatively late to be the drachma (Mommson, *Gesch. d. röm. Münzwesens*, iii. 4, § 21). Now, when the Roman and Greek systems of weight and money were harmonised, the drachma was reckoned as equivalent to the denarius, at 96 to the pound, and at this rate the κεράτιον, which was  $\frac{1}{1728}$  of a pound, was  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the drachma, or  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the obol. It therefore seems probable that in this document νόμισμα stands for drachma, and not for solidus; but this, too, is a hypothesis which requires confirmation.

The papyrus measures  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 4, and is clearly written in most places. The text is published by Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, xii. 86.

|    |   |     |     |                                         |    |     |           |     |
|----|---|-----|-----|-----------------------------------------|----|-----|-----------|-----|
|    | ✕ | λο  | ν°  | πι/                                     | τ° | κυρ | Παυλο°    | ξ̄γ |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | μ         |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | λδ        |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | κα        |     |
| 5  |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | θ         |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | λζ        |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | δ         |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | κε        |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | κθ        |     |
| 10 |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | κγ        |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | μη        |     |
|    |   |     |     | / ν° σο ρ̄                              |    |     |           |     |
|    |   | αφ̄ | εχω | —                                       |    |     |           |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ρα γ ζ λ  |     |
| 15 |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ις        |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ια γ 5    |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ια γ 5    |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | η         |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ια γ ι δ  |     |
| 20 |   |     |     | [π]ι/                                   |    | ν°  | κα γ ια λ |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | ξθ γ θλ δ |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | 5 γ 5     |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | ν°  | κ         |     |
|    |   |     |     | πι/                                     |    | γ   | ε         |     |
| 25 |   |     |     | / ν° σνη γ ι δ λοι εχει ν° ια γ ζ [λ δ] |    |     |           |     |

Line 1. The character after λο is doubtful; W. reads λογ, but it does not resemble a γ.

Line 2. ν° stands for νόμισμα throughout, as usual.

Line 3. λδ: not λθ, as read by W.

Line 12. σο denotes the total, 270, correctly, but it is not clear why ρ (wrongly given by W. as ε) is added, unless it stands for ῥυπαρά, going with νομίσματα, as often.

Line 14. γ is the usual symbol for κεράτιον.

Line 19. δ stands for  $\frac{1}{2}$ , instead of the more usual δ'.

Line 20. κα: the reading is doubtful.

Line 23. This line and the following (as also the number of κεράτια in ll. 20 and 22) are written in fainter ink than the preceding, and are perhaps not taken into the account; for the addition of 20 drachmas would seriously disturb the total.

Line 25. The total given here is 258 dr. 10½ ker. (not 14, as given by W.), which, subtracted from the total 270 above, leaves remainder 11:7½. But the total of the items comes to 257:3, so there must be an error somewhere. The doubts attaching to ll. 20, 22, 23, 24, may perhaps account for it, but they do not appear to touch the question of the fractions.

CXIII. 8 (δ). A short statement of moneys expended, probably 7th cent. (Wessely, *l. c.* p. 83.)

✠ λ° π τ<sup>ον</sup> οπι καλικοῦ ν° ι  
 γ δ° τῶ πλινθουργγ ν° γ  
 , δ° τ<sup>ω</sup> κῶ φ . κεραμουργγ ν° 5  
 , δ° τ<sup>ω</sup> κρ μῆ νοταρ ͵ ου ν° α  
 5 , δ° ͵ τι . κοφιν ν° α  
 , δ° παπλουθ, συμμαχι ν° α  
 μ ν° ιβ

Line 1. λ° π τ<sup>ον</sup> : *i.e.* λόγος παρὰ τοῦ ; apparently a tradesman's or workman's account. ι : not ι[α], as W.

Line 2. The sign at the beginning of the line perhaps stands for *ὑπέρ*, that at the beginnings of ll. 3-6 for *καί* or "item."

Line 4. ͵ : = *ὑπέρ*. This sign recurs in the following papyri and in many of those at Paris.

Line 7. ͵β : the total (not ια, as W.) is that of the items in ll. 2-6 ; ι therefore stands apart by itself.

CXIII. 8 (c). Apparently this is an assessment of a rate of some sort. Each entry consists of the name of the person upon whom the rate was levied, the extent of land on which it was charged, and the amount of the rate. The extent of land is expressed in *ἄρουραι*, and the sums of money in *κεράτια*. The νόμισμα is here the solidus, as a sum of 18 *κεράτια* is mentioned in l. 8. The rate varies between 3 and 4 *κεράτια* per *ἄρουρα*. Among the owners may be observed two churches, those of St. Victor and St. George. The date is Phamenoth in the 4th year of the indiction, but there is nothing to fix the precise indiction-cycle. The hand is perhaps of the 7th cent. (Wessely, *l. c.* p. 84.)

✠ ισ, εκθ, δ° / τω νι / τριβ . . 5  
 εν μη Φαμ° κγ δ ω  
 κυρα παντο ͵ ια ν° . . γ ιβ  
 Αντονι αρ<sup>x</sup> ͵ δ γ ιγ δ'  
 5 κυρα γαμ<sup>e</sup> ναουθ, ͵ ε γ ιε  
 εκκλ, τ<sup>ον</sup> αγι / Βικτωρ ͵ α ͵ γ [δ] ͵ η'  
 θαιαιδος ͵ θ ν° α  
 εκκλ, τ<sup>ον</sup> αγι / Γεωργιῶ ͵ ιγ ν° α γ ιη  
 δ / τ τεκνων Τιμωθεου ͵ ε γ ιε  
 10 δ / Γεωργιῶ βαφ<sup>e</sup> / ͵ γλ γ ια ͵  
 ͵ ͵ αρῶ πεστα ͵ γ μαρτυρ ν° ε

Line 3. ͵ : *i.e.* ἄρουρα.

CXIII. 9 (α). Fragment of a receipt or acknowledgment. (Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, ix. p. 277.)

✠ ἐπληρ<sup>e</sup> / αι κυρα Αθανασα ͵ κυρα Σοφια  
 ͵ τον σιτ / εποι ͵ ͵ ταριχιων καρπον πρωτης ι<sup>δ</sup>  
 δι<sup>e</sup> καγκελλ, αρ<sup>t</sup> δυο ημισυ δωδεκ<sup>e</sup> / ὀ β η μ //  
 εγραφ / μῆ θωθ κγ τ<sup>i</sup> αυ<sup>t</sup> ιν<sup>e</sup> ✠ δ / εμ<sup>v</sup> Μῆ  
 5 συν<sup>θ</sup> γραμμ<sup>t</sup> . . . . .

Line 1. αι : the MS. more resembles οι.

Line 3. δι<sup>e</sup> καγκελλ, αρ<sup>t</sup> : this is W.'s reading ; the first letters might more easily be read σιτ κγ, but it does not seem possible to make sense of this. η : the context requires ͵ β (=  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ ),

and W. actually reads this ; but this seems impossible without great violence to the characters as they are written.

Line 5. συν<sup>θ</sup> : σύν θεῶ (W.). The end of the line is filled with the usual illegible scribbings.

CXIII. 9 (δ). Here follow a number of acknowledgments of loans or other payments, all officially certified by a *συμβολαιογράφος*. The writing is full of abbreviations. The texts have been published by Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, ix. pp. 275-278, and a large number of similar ones are included in his publication of the Paris Fayūm-papyri.

\* τω ἀδελφ/ Πουσι πρεσβ/  
 Ηλίας παρασχ<sup>ov</sup> τω ζωγραφ/  
 οι/ κουρ δυο γι/ κουρ β ι<sup>δ</sup>/ Φαρμ  
 ι β ι<sup>δ</sup> δι εμ . . . .

Line 3. οι/ κουρ: *i.e.* οἶνον κοῦρι. γι/ = γίνεται. ι<sup>δ</sup>: W. takes no notice of these characters, which certainly follow β, and have every appearance of being the ordinary abbreviation of *ἰνδικτιῶνος*. They are probably, however, due to a mistake; the clerk, who had to write β ι<sup>δ</sup> in the following line, unconsciously

adding ι<sup>δ</sup> to the β in this line.

Line 4. δι εμ . . : there is a confused mass of characters here, but it is uncertain whether they are intended to represent the usual δι εμου, or rather the series of strange marks which often follow the name of the scribe in other papyri of this class.

CXIII. 9 (ε).

\* παρησχ' ο κυρ, Ηλια Αθανασιον  
 απο διαγρ̄ β κ' ι ιν, Αλ' ν° δ/ γ εδ'  
 νομισμ̄ τεσσαρ<sup>a</sup> κερ̄ πεντε τεταρ  
 μ// μ' Φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> κη τ' ι ιν, \* δ/ εμ<sup>ov</sup> Στεφ'  
 5 Ζαχαριου

Line 1. Αθανασιον: so MS. apparently, for Αθανασιος.

Line 2. Αλ: *i.e.* Ἀλεξάνδρεια, with νομίσματα.

Line 4. μ// = μόνον. τη: MS. perhaps τον.

Line 5. W. omits this last line. The same scribe's name recurs in the next document.

CXIII. 9 (δ). This and the following acknowledgment are on parchment, but they are included as coming from the same source and as being of exactly the same nature.

\* παρησχ' Αθανασι'/ Ηλῖ απο δημ  
 χ̄ επι μ̄ ι ιν, Αλ' ν° δ γ α νομισμ̄ τεσσαρ̄  
 κερ̄ εν μ// μ' Φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> ι τ' ι ιν, \* δ/ εμ<sup>ov</sup>  
 Στεφανου Ζαχαριου

CXIII. 9 (ε).

\* Κυριακω ελαιοπρ̄ παρ<sup>x</sup>  
 τοις χαλκομ̄ ζ̄ αναλωμ̄ ελαι<sup>ov</sup> δ  
 δ τεσσαρ̄ εγρ̄ μ' Μεσ<sup>o</sup> ις ι<sup>δ</sup> 5  
 \* δ/ εμ<sup>ov</sup> Πεττ<sup>ov</sup> διακ/ 5 νο<sup>o</sup> ετελ<sup>θ</sup>/

Line 1. Κυριακω: a large number of the similar documents published by Wessely among the Paris Fayūm-papyri are addressed Κυρίκω ελαιοπράτῃ. The διάκονος καὶ νοτάριος Πεττήριος also appears throughout the Paris series, to which this no doubt

properly belongs. W. reprints it there (*Pariser Papyri*, p. 102).

Line 2. ζ: this sign, as appears from the Paris papyri, stands for μέτρα.

Line 4. νο<sup>o</sup> = νοταρίον. ετελ<sup>θ</sup> = ἐτελειώθη.

## PAPYRUS CXVI.—7th cent.

THE two following documents are best placed here, being of precisely the same character as those which precede, though they are catalogued under a different number, having been presented separately by the Rev. Greville Chester. The second of them is on parchment.



CXVI. (a).

\* παρησχ<sup>ε</sup> Θεοδωρος τεκτων  
 απο μερισμ̄ διαγραφ<sup>η</sup> λαυρ̄ του  
 αγι/ Θεοδωρου τεταρτης ω<sup>δ</sup> κ<sup>τ</sup>/ κελευ/  
 Αβδαλλ̄ αμιρ̄ Αλεξ/ 5 δ' κεφ̄ εξ̄ ημισυ  
 τεταρτ, μ// μηνι Χ<sup>ο</sup> ιη τ<sup>η</sup> αυ<sup>τ</sup> δ ω<sup>δ</sup>  
 \* δι' εμου Φοιβα<sup>α</sup> απα Κ<sup>υ</sup>/

Line 4. This mention of the Emir Abdallah shows that the document belongs to the time following the Arabian conquest of Egypt.

CXVI. (b).

\* Αθυρ κη ā κ̄ ενατης ω<sup>δ</sup> λαυρα τ<sup>ου</sup> αγι/  
 Βικτορος Βικτορος Κοσμα κρινο/  
 κερ̄ δεκα 9 ι Αλ' δι' εμ̄ Φοιβ<sup>η</sup> \*

## PAPYRUS CXIII. 10.—A.D. 639-640.

THE following is a receipt given by the elders of a village in the nome of Arsinoë to the governor of the district (πάγαρχος) for payment for supplies furnished by the inhabitants in obedience to a requisition from the Government. The goods supplied include leather, hides, wool, fodder, etc., and presumably were required for the troops, and the present document will in that case show the method adopted by the Government for the support of the army, viz. that the several districts were required to provide a certain amount of supplies, which were then paid for by the Government at a fixed rate. The document is dated in the thirteenth indiction, and the mention of the Πάπας or Patriarch Cyrus identifies this as A.D. 639-640. It consequently belongs to the last days of Roman rule in Egypt, when the final struggle with the invading Arabs was actually in progress.

The papyrus is ragged and fragmentary, and apparently incomplete at the end. Its full width is 15 inches, and its full height about 9 inches. The writing is cursive, and is clear and regular. There is some faint writing on the back. The text is published by Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, ix. p. 256, with several misprints.

. . . . των θειοτατων . . . .  
 του θεοστεφο . . . .

Φλ, Θεοδωρακιω τω μεγαλοπρεπεστατω παγαρχω . . . . . λεω . . . . .  
 κωμης Καμι[νω]ν του Αρσινωιτου νομου δι' ημων [των] πρ[ε]σβυτερ[ων] . . . . .  
 ανουπ πρ . . . . .

5 γενομενου και αυτου πρεσβυτερ[ου] και Φιβ̄ πρεσβυτερ[ου] υιου Π[ο]ουσι και αυτου πρε[σβ]υ-  
 τερον και Ιωαννο[υ] . . . . .

Lines 1, 2. These two lines are separated from the succeeding ones by a considerable space, and either belong to a separate document, or are a detached heading to the one which follows.

Line 4. Καμι[νω]ν : the supplement is W.'s. The name is also

found among the Paris papyri.

Line 5. Φιβ̄ : the last letter may be either a β or the Coptic ϣ ; but the name Φιβ̄ις occurs in other documents, e.g. Pap. cxxxi. rect., *passim*. υιου Πουσι : so W. ; Πουσι is a name known from other papyri.

και Ηλια υἱου Νειλαμμωνος και . . . . . υἱου Σαραπίωνος και Πτο[λε]μαιος υἱου . . .  
 νουθιου και Γεροντιου [υιου]. λ . . . . .  
 υἱου Αυνη και Πλω υἱου Σαραπ[ι]ωνος και Φο[ιβ]αμμω[ν]ος υἱ[ου] Βικτορος και Νεφερον  
 υἱου Χιλεον και Παμουτιου υἱου Μηνα  
 και Ακωους υἱου Παυλου πρεσβυτερου και Φιβ υἱου Ἰωαννου των και παροντων και τους  
 λο[γο]υς ποιουμενων υπερ τε εαυτῶ  
 και υπερ των λοιπων της αυτων κωμης των κ[αι] μη [πα]ροντων χ ομολογουμεν εκο[ν]σια  
 γνωμη επομνυμενοι θεον  
 10 παντοκρατορα και την βασιλικην σωτηρια[ν] ειλη[φ]εναι και πεπληρωσθαι παρα τ[η]ς  
 υμετερας μεγαλοπρεπειας την  
 τιμην των δοθειτων παρ ημων αυτων π[α]ρ[α] του κοινου της ειρημενης ημων κωμης εις  
 διαφορους διανομας  
 γενομενας κατα κελυσιν του δεσποτου ημων Κυρου του αγιοτ[α]του και θεοτιμητ[ου] παπα  
 επι της παρουσης τρισκαι  
 δεκατης ιν, λεγομεν δη των τε βυρσαριων και ερεας και χορτου ξηρου και πρωβατων και  
 πρωβαιων δερματων φυλιων και ραφα  
 [νου] και στρωματων τουτ εστιν υπερ [μ]εν τιμη[ς] βυ[ρ]σαριου ενος κερατια οκτω υπερ δε  
 τιμη[ς] ερεας λιτρων εικοσι πεντε κερατια  
 15 . . . . . υπ[ε]ρ δε τιμη[ς] χορτου ξηρου δεσμ[ω]ν τριακοντα ενο[ς] νομισμα εν  
 κερατ[ια] ενδεκα ημισυ υπερ δε τιμη[ς] πρωβατων  
 . . . . . φυλ

Line 6. . . νουθιου: W. παπνουθιου, without indication that the first three letters are conjectural, which they certainly are, unless the papyrus has suffered since he saw it.

Line 7. Πλω: W. νειλου; the word is slightly rubbed, but W.'s reading seems impossible. Νεφερον: W. νεφερα; one piece of the papyrus slightly overlaps the other, but the reading is either νεφερον or νεφεραν. Χιλεον: W. αχιλεου, but the letter preceding the χ appears to be the υ of υιου.

Line 9. θεον: there is a small cross above this word.

Line 10. ειληφεναι: apparently corrected from ειληφαιναι.

Line 12. Κυρου: bishop of Phasis, and patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 630-641. See *Dict. of Christian Biography*.

Line 15. There is no lacuna between ενος and νομισμα, as W. prints it. κερατ[ια] ενδεκα: W. κερατια δεκα, but there is space for more letters than two in the lacuna, and there are traces of what may be a ν just before the δε.

Line 16. There is no lacuna after φυλ, as W. indicates. The document closes there, being apparently incomplete.

### PAPYRUS CXIII. 11 (a).—6th or 7th cent.

THE following is a contract made by one Apollos, who has the cognomen σπογγοκέφαλος, with a Jew named Abraham, to take the sour wine of one year's vintage up to the month Tubi in exchange for the sweet wine of the succeeding year. The papyrus measures 3 inches by 13½, and is written in a rough uneducated hand, perhaps of the 6th century. (Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, xii. p. 81.)

εγω Απολλως υιος Αντωνιου σπογγοκεφαλος απο κωμης Αραβων του Αρσιωιτου νομου  
 [σ]οι Αβρααμω Εβρειω υἱω Θεοδοτου απο [τη]ς Αρσι[ν]οῦταν πολεως ετοιμως εχω αλλαξαι  
 σοι τα οξιδια των εκατον εικοσι οκτω κουρι του οινου ρυσεως εκτης ιν,

Line 1. σπογγοκέφαλος: this name, with others similarly descriptive of personal appearance, occurs in Pap. xxxiii. of

Wessely's edition of the Paris Fayūm-papyri. Αραβων: a second ρ is added above the first.

- 5      εως του· Τυβι μηνος και τον αντ αυτου οινον εναρεστον· δωσω σοι απο ρυσεως  
 εβδομης ν, σε δε αποκερδαινει τον οξον εκτης ν, ως εδοξεν μεταξυ ημων  
 εγραφη μηνι Θωθ ιθ 5 ν, \* δι εμου Ηλια συμβολαιογραφου

## PAPYRUS CXIII. 11 (δ).—6th or 7th cent.

THIS document is much mutilated, and it is only possible to discern that it is a complaint made by a villager, presumably of the nome of Arsinoë, of some assault or injury, and a request that some one may be sent to do justice in the matter. The papyrus measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, and from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 9 in width. The writing is rough and the spelling very uneducated. (Wessely, *l. c.*, p. 82.)

- . . . . ημων τινος εκ της κωμης ημων επ . . . .  
 . . . . ης εν βραχιωνι και εκραξεν βια εις το μεσον τ . .  
 . . . . η τον τον ανθρωπων θελουσιν φωνευσιν αυτων . . . .  
 . . ν και                    το πραγμα τουτω ουκ εναυτε εις την κωμην ημ[ων] . .  
 5      . . της ημων πεμψον ανθρωπων ειναι δοσης αυτου κατωστασιν . . . .  
 . . κωμην δεσποτα \*

Endorsed    ο αγαθ· δεσποτη . .

Line 4. The space between *και* and *το* is blank in the original.

Line 5. *ανθρωπων ειναι δοσης*: apparently for *ανθρωπων ινα δώσης*.

## PAPYRUS CXIII. 12 and 13.—6th or 7th cent.

HERE follow a number of fragments of theological treatises, all apparently belonging to the sixth or seventh century, and all very small. In no case do we get more than three or four consecutive words, and generally less. Only two of the fragments belong to the same MS.; those, namely, which compose 12 (c). The fragments are too small to be identified among the great mass of Christian writings remaining of the 4th to 7th centuries, and they may of course possibly belong to works which have not been preserved.

CXIII. 12 (a). Fragment of a Christian treatise, in small neat writing, with punctuation in places to show the division of words.

- \* προς τυραννους τουνν  
 αχθεντες. τιμωρουνται.  
 προς δε θν̄ αφόρωντες. εν  
 δ[υ]ναμουνται. υπο τουτων  
 5      προς θανατον απιλουνται.  
 υπο δε Χῡ πρ[ο]ς ζωην επαγγελ  
 λονται, εκαστος τας πολῡ  
 τρόπους τω[ν] . . . λαστηριων

Portions of six more lines are erased, obliterated, and corrected so as to be undecipherable.

Line 5. *απιλουνται*: MS. at first *απειλουνται*, but the *ε* is struck out.

The reverse is very faint and little can be deciphered.

τουτους ο[υν κη]μεις μιμουμε  
νοι. αντι μελων αποτομης  
την της σαρκος αχθοφορ  
εα[ν] . . . . νιαν. οι αγιοι  
5 γαρ προς θ . . . . . ωρ . . . . . ασ  
εμαχοντο . . . . . σ . . . . . θυ  
μου . . . . . μο  
θα . . . . . ασ  
το

CXIII. 12 (b). Writing faint; large sloping capitals. Top of a column.

. . εβησαν εις Χαναα[ν] . .  
. . σκιρτα· και το βλεμ . .  
. . το]ν αριθμον των δεκα . .  
. . υ ενος δειχα· ε· πυνθ . .  
5 . . ιδε φησιν ακουσον . .  
. . ν καθ ημων κα . .  
. . και οργιζομε . .  
. . απ]οκτειναι ημας . .  
. . ιαις ταις σαις ο θς ι . .  
10 . . και οπερ συ ζητω απεκ . .  
. . μεων που μη καυτ . .  
. . Ιω]σηφ προστεθεικατε . .  
. . του ακμην εχω το ω . .  
. . αγετε μοι τουτου ο . .  
15 . . μενοι νυν αντερει τ . .  
. . δυα δε τεκν . .

Reverse :—

. . ενωπιον σου εστιν· . .  
. . ρετον ημας και σ . .  
. . ετε εστιν πιστα αλ . .  
. . ο . . ν παρ εμοι κατ . .  
5 . . κατε νυν· απαγα . .  
. . . . . ν· συγγγονον πρ . .  
. . . . . θεμιν ελαβε . .  
. . . . . ενωπιον . . τω . .  
. . αυτοις . . . Ι[σ]αακ . .  
10 . . ως δικαιως τα ωτα . .  
. . ο θς Ιωσηφ· μνησ . .  
. . μων βοησω· ορου κ . .  
. . υλεων υμιν· μ . .  
. . η οργιζεσθαι σαρ . .  
15 . . ως αφρονουντα κ̄α . .  
. . . . . μους δε του . .



CXIII. 12 (c). The two fragments of which this number is composed belong apparently to the same column, but at an uncertain distance apart. Plain sloping capitals. Wide margin. Beginnings of lines on *recto*, ends on *verso*.

Recto :— (a) ιστατο ο χ . . . .  
 θεω . . .  
 περι . . .  
 ησε . . .  
 5 πετ . . .  
 ελε τ . . .  
 με ε . . .  
 και υ . . .  
 θεισ . . .  
 10 ερειτ . . .  
 σημερ[ον] . . .  
 σεσθ : . . .  
 αικα . . .

(b) δισσ . . .  
 με κα . . .  
 εδο . . .  
 εδοκε . . .  
 5 προ . . .  
 αμι . . .  
 ιδω . . .  
 μη . . .  
 την . . .  
 10 ηλθο . . .

Verso :— (c) . . . αι παν  
 . . . ον φρο  
 . . . δους αυτω  
 . . . . . σειρας  
 5 . . . . . ματος  
 . . . επελαθετο  
 . . . . ο των θν  
 . . . . . λλην τι  
 . . . παρελοιδας  
 10 . . . ν των ουν  
 . . . τω κω ημων  
 . . . δη και ο κς  
 . . . ησασθαι  
 . . . τας γε θλι

(d') . . . εμα μη ση  
 . . . ται υιος ο ποιω̄  
  
 . . . ην πασαν  
 . . . σθεισαν εβοα  
 5 . . . νοι μου οι δε  
 . . . νον τα βηματα  
 . . . . . ειτα και  
 . . . τα]ς οψεις  
 . . . . . δω τουτον

CXIII. 12 (d'). The following petition for redress of injuries, written in large sloping capitals, has accidentally been placed among the theological documents, owing to the similarity of the handwriting. The petitioner, with truly Hibernian humour, complains of having been murdered, but the details are obscure.

‡ τω εμω αγαθω  
 δεσποτη και θεοφν  
 λακτω κυριω Γεωρ  
 γιω συν θεω αν . .  
 5 . . ου// Κόσμας ύμ[ετε]  
 ρος δουλος το ελε  
 ος σου καταλαβη  
 με οτι απεθανον  
 εν τη φρουρα ταν  
 10 τη ιδου ιη μη . .  
 ο χρεωστης εφ[ο]  
 ιενυσεν με θε . .  
 εβρεων φωτισ . .  
 με το απαξ τουτου  
 15 και εαν θελη . .  
 αναχωρησε α[πο]  
 της πολεως τα[v]  
 της αναχωρ . . .  
 ιδου ηττομε [εγ]  
 20 γνητας παλιν  
 παρεχω σοι δε . .  
 τα τουτο ου . ν . .  
 . . . . .

CXIII. 13 (a). Large upright capitals, rather rough. The contents refer to the history of Joseph.

. . ως δε τη πρεσβ . εια . . .  
 . . . ον την ευχην· εζ . ελ . . .  
 . . . πτον οι δε κα . . . . . ελ . . .

- . . . Ἰωσ]ηφ̄ τότε προσεκυνο[υν . . .  
 5 . . . καμπτούσιν αὐτῶ τον . . .  
 . . . τὴν τοῦ σιτου τιμὴν· ο . . .  
 . . . λωσαντες μετὰ τὴν . . .  
 . . . ἀργυρωνήτον ἡ τοῦ ν . . .  
 . . . γνωσθεις παρ αὐτῶν κα . . .  
 10 . . . Ἰωσηφ̄ μνησθεις τοῦ Ἰ[ακωβ . . .  
 . . . ἐ κρατήσας τότε εαὐτ . . .  
 . . . ν λειπὼν πρὸς βραχὺ· ἀπε . . .  
 . . . ς τοῖς σύγγονοις αὐτοῦ· κ . . .  
 . . . σασθαι σιτον ἐζητεῖτε· . . .  
 15 . . . ι· ἀλλ̄ ἡλθατε πάντες ἰ . . .  
 . . . οὖν εστέ δηλώσατε καὶ . . .  
 . . . χετε ἑτερον σύγγονον . . .  
 . . . ἰμος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακωβ· κ . . .  
 . . . τ]ον θ̄ν· νῦν σωσον ἡμᾶς ο θ[s] . . .  
 20 . . . ενοι δὲ τον φόβον πρὸς βρα . . .  
 . . . βα]σιλει Ἰωσηφ̄· μὴ ὀργιζοῦ . . .  
 . . . . . θαμὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἰχὺν . . .  
 . . . . . δες πρεσβύτο . . .  
 . . . . . ἀκύνος καὶ ἡμ . . .  
 25 . . . . . γῆ ἡμῶ[ν] . . .  
 . . . . . αἰσσοῦν . . .

Continued on the reverse, but much fainter.

CXIII. 13 (δ). Thin sloping capitals, rather large. The first two lines are a good deal rubbed, and the left-hand portion of the whole is lost. The Cyrus referred to is perhaps the patriarch of Alexandria; cf. cxiii. 10, l. 12.

- . . . α . τη της εβδ . . . . . αφ̄ εαυτου  
 . . . η σε . την εμ . . . . . τελειαν  
 . . . υς καὶ ἐλάλησεν μεθ̄ ἡμῶν καὶ ο θ̄ς  
 . . . θεοφυλάκτου Κυρου καὶ σημερον ἡτις  
 5 . . . ἡλθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν Αἰματῆως  
 . . . πο κ[ατασ]τασιν αὐτου καὶ ὥστε τὴν  
 . . . ναι καὶ δοῦναι Ἰν̄ τον θ̄ν ἡμῶν ἐσημα  
 . . . . . υ]μῶν καὶ ἡμῶν τατ . . . χ . . . α . . . [π]αρθε  
 [νου] τ]ης θεοτοκου ἀμην Ϙ

## 7. MISCELLANEOUS.

### PAPYRUS I. [FORSHALL XLIII.].—1st or 2nd cent.

A SMALL fragment of writing, probably of the 1st century, too incomplete for it to be possible to determine its character. There is writing on both sides of the papyrus. On the recto we appear to have the beginning of a document, as there is a blank space at the top of the sheet and before the first words. The writing is semi-cursive, and is fairly clear; but with so small a fragment many of the words necessarily remain doubtful. The reverse contains the ends of several lines, but the writing is much fainter and is rubbed in places.

The papyrus measures  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches by 2.

|    |                          |
|----|--------------------------|
|    | Καισαρ καιο . .          |
|    | . . ων θεων ανεγγ . .    |
|    | . . μον λωπου ω . .      |
|    | . . τα οπλα και ασφα . . |
| 5  | . . ποιας εσχεν αφ .     |
|    | . . απαιτει . ν μασ      |
|    | . . εσχατα εν λετε .     |
|    | . . ομενους στρατι       |
|    | . . ριανους και η . .    |
| 10 | . . ωτησωι ο τινες       |
|    | . . περι του απο σκηνης  |
|    | . . ακριβες τε           |
|    | . . και Κλανδιανου       |
|    | . . . . . ντω .          |

(Reverse.)

|    |                     |
|----|---------------------|
| 15 | . . . . . εις των   |
|    | . . . . . μιε θησον |
|    | . . . . . ντο δυσι  |

Line 1. Wessely (*Wiener Studien*, viii. 211) suggests (μεθρημηνεμένης) κατα δυνα[τον]; but in the first place nothing appears to be wanting from the beginning of the document, and in the second place it is impossible to get W.'s reading out of the characters; among other things, the long stroke of the ρ is clear.

Line 2. The last two letters are doubtful; F.'s reading μα for ων at the beginning of the line seems impossible.

Line 3. F. reads μινειν πονει. The last is almost certainly wrong; the letter read ν is wholly unlike the others in the papyrus, and is almost certainly a ν. Nor does the first word seem right; the ε in particular is hard to make out; but the right reading is doubtful.

Line 4. ασφα : or αφα ; F. αφα.

Line 5. αφ : F. αφ.

Line 6. F. reads ημας at the end of the line, but the letter before μ appears to be a ν, and can hardly be η.

Line 7. The reading is not certain : F. gives ερχαν εναντε.

Line 8. στρατι : presumably στρατιωτας.

Line 12. ακριβες τε : after a two letters, πα, are erased. F. reads αποκριθεστε.

Line 16. F. reads μι θησον, but there is a letter, nearly obliterated, between ι and θ.

Line 17. F. ητε, but almost certainly wrongly.



. . . . . νια σωι  
 . . . . . υπο φε  
 20 . . . . . ν και χειρο  
 . . . . . η]μερας θ  
 . . . . . μφεν . . επιδ  
 . . . . . [ε]ναντίας νε  
 . . . . . ου και [π]αρος  
 25 . . . . . ετρωσαις  
 . . . . . αλλαις οι και  
 . . . . . φερονται  
 . . . . . αις καθ ημων  
 . . . . . ναι . . . .

Line 22. F. reads [με]μφιν μεννιδει, but it is extremely doubtful; the name is no doubt suggested by the Serapeum documents, but this papyrus does not belong to them.

Line 23. F. [ε]ναντιαν ανε.

Line 26. οι: the o is blotted, and is perhaps meant to be altered to α.

#### PAPYRUS XXXII. [FORSHALL XLIV.].—7th cent.

THIS is a document of a late date, probably of the 7th century. It is in too fragmentary a condition to be certain what its exact character is, but it is evidently a public notice, whether issued by the Government or on behalf of a private individual. From the mention of a grant of *προθεσμία*, or allowance of time within which debts had to be paid, and the subsequent reference to arrest (*κρατήση*) and offer of reward, it would appear that we have here a notice respecting defaulting debtors, either in general or some particular ones, or perhaps persons who should have failed to pay some tax or due to the state. The writing is large and ornamental, with wide intervals between the lines; and it is a good deal rubbed in places. Besides Forshall's version, the text has been published by Wessely, with considerable conjectural amplifications, in *Wiener Studien*, viii. 212 (1886). On the reverse is some writing in a cursive hand, which Droysen believed to be a glossary of some non-Greek language, probably Arabic. Wessely, however, takes it to be some Greek accounts belonging to the Arabian period, and gives a transcript of such portions as he can decipher (*Wiener Studien*, ix. 243, 1887). His version is, however, for the most part unintelligible, and the writing is so rubbed and indistinct that it is hopeless to make anything of it.

The text of the recto follows. The papyrus measures 16½ inches by 15 in its widest measurements, but is torn irregularly.

. . απ]ελυσαμε[θα] . . . . . ελ . . . . . εις α[ν]ατ[ολην] . . . . .  
 . . . . . δεδωκοτες αυτοις προθεσμιαν μηνω[ν] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ι . . . . . εστι μ' Π' ε ινδ/ δωδεκατης . . . . .  
 . . . . . αυτης δωδεκατης [ι]νδ/ οστις ουν υπαντηση αυτοις εκ των υπουργω[ν] . . .

Line 1. F. *κελυσαμεθα*: but there is no ε before the ν. F. reads *ανατολη* without hesitation; apparently a fragment of the papyrus has been lost since then.

Line 3. μ' Π': *i.e.* μηνι παννι. F. reads *εινα* for ε ινδ/ here and in l. 10.

Line 4. *υπαντηση*: W. *υπαιτηση*, but the ν is nearly certain.

- 5 . . . αω . ασ . . . μνω των οντων ειτε ανατολην και Λιγυπτον μετα την [δεδομενην]  
 . . . αυ[τ]οις παρ ημων προθεσμιαν τουτους κρατηση και α . . . ι ετη εις . . .  
 . . . . . απαιτηση εκαστο[υ αυ]των [νο]μισματα τρια ουτω γαρ εθε . . .  
 . . . . . αι και προς το δηλον ειναι [τω] παροντι σιγγιλλιω εχρησαμεθ[α]  
 . . . . . Ελληνικοις γραμμασιν επι . . . . . τες εν αυτω και την συνη . .  
 10 . . . . . μ' π' ]ε ωδ/ δωδεκατης

Line 5. W. reads *αλλην διοικησιν εντυνοντων* at the beginning of this line, but the remains do not bear this out. *δεδομενην* W.

Line 6. . . . ι ετη : W. *αποστελη*, but the termination *ετη* seems clear.

Line 7. *εκαστου* : W. and F. *εκαστον*, but the sense seems to require a genitive, "for each of them."

Line 9. *εν* certainly ; not *συν*, as W. reads.

### PAPYRUS LXXVII.—8th cent.

THIS papyrus is one of some interest and importance, as a specimen of a class of documents of which there are few survivals from antiquity. It is the last will and testament of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis and head of the monastery dedicated to the saint and martyr Phœbammon, situated on the hill known as the *Castrum Memnonium*, the modern Djeme, near Thebes. It was found with a number of other documents among the ruins of the monastery about 1856, and was brought along with them to England by the Rev. H. Stobart. The other documents included a fragment of the Sahidic version of the New Testament, and a number of deeds and grants relating to the monastery; but this is the only one written in Greek. It is written in Greek in spite of the fact that the testator was ignorant of the Greek language (and it is worth noticing that a knowledge of Greek was not necessary in order to rise to the highest dignities in the Church, although it is clear that some at least of the inmates of the monastery were acquainted with the language, since their attestations are written in Greek by their own hands). The will is a simple one, and only attains its present dimensions owing to a wealth of phraseology which would do honour to a modern legal document. The beginning of the document is lost, but it does not appear to have contained anything beyond the date and heading, except some reflections on the uncertainty of human life. Then follows a lengthy assertion that the testator is in full possession of all his faculties; after which comes the will itself. The bishop expresses no desire for a speedy departure from this world; on the contrary, his first wish is for life and health and enjoyment of his moderate competence. But should the ordinary lot of mortals befall him (as he prays it may not), he makes his will in form following. He leaves everything of which he may die possessed to his disciple the priest Victor, disclaiming solemnly at the same time the possession of any silver or gold, "according to the faith of the Christians." He also bequeaths to him the possession and government of the monastery, which is interesting as showing that the succession to such office was, in some cases at least, determined by the will of the last holder of it, and not, as was the general custom later, by election among the monks. Then follow clauses securing his heir from disturbance from any of his relations, and declaring the invalidity of any other document contrary to the tenor of this will, whether of earlier or even of later date. Finally there are the attestations. The bishop declares that the document has been interpreted to him in the Egyptian tongue, and is in full accord with his meaning; and his subscription to it is

written for him by the junior priest of the church of Hermonthis. The other witnesses are the archpresbyter of the church of Hermonthis, a person whose office is not given, a citizen of Hermonthis (who, being presumably a business man, by force of habit calls the process which he is witnessing a sale instead of a will), the junior deacon, and a lawyer; besides the usual attestation of the scribe or notary who drew up the document. The date of the will is lost with the opening lines of the document, but it is probably of the 8th century. One of the Coptic documents found with it (Pap. XCV.) is dated A.D. 786, and several more, which contain the name of the same οἰκονόμος, or steward, Surus, must belong to the same period. From Pap. LXXVIII., which is a similar will, in Coptic, of Jacob, head (προεστώς) of the monastery, we get the following successive heads,—Abraham, Victor, Peter, Jacob, Victor; but there is nothing to prove whether Surus was contemporary with any or all of these. From the handwriting, however, and the use of the Greek language, as well as the position of Abraham at the head of the series just mentioned, it is probable that a comparatively early date is preferable, and consequently the will may fall in the first half of the 8th century. Wessely assigns it to the 7th century; but none of the documents in the group appears to be so early as that.

A translation of this will, together with some of the Coptic documents found with it, was published by C. W. Goodwin in the *Latw Magazine*, No. 122, pp. 244–247 (1859). It is, however, inaccurate in several places. The Greek text is given by Wessely in *Wiener Studien*, ix. 235–240; but this, too, is faulty in a few details. The papyrus measures 3 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 2 in., and is written in one large column across the breadth. The writing is in a large cursive hand, and is generally clear and uninjured.

. . . γραφομεν° . . . [τ]ω και συνκελλιω μ[ου] . . . . .

. . σεως μαλιστα της τελευτης απασιν ουσης και τη συμπτώσει του εμου σωματος καταπονουμενο[s]

[μη] εξαιφνης και παρα προσδοκιαν τον τηδε μεταλλαξω βιον αδηλου οντος του μελλοντος  
 5 οθεν εις ταυτην ωρμησα την εγγραφον αμεταμελητον εσχατη[ν] διαθηκημι[αν] ασφαλειαν  
 εχουσαν το εκ των νομων κυρος απανταχου προφερομενην κ[αι] δημοσιευομενην δι ης  
 ομολογω εκων και πεπεισμενος διχα παντος δολου και φοβου και βιας και απατης και  
 αναγκης τινος και πασης νομιμου παραγραφης και συναρπαγης και μηχανης παντοιας  
 10 ανεν οιασδηποτε διχονοιας τε και κακονοιας αλλ' εξ οικεια[s] προθεσεως και σκοπω  
 ανθαιρετω και εκουσιας εμης βουλησεως ορθη διανοια βεβαια [π]ιστει παντι πληρεστατω  
 δεσποτεια και αυτοτελη εξουσια παρεθεμην σοι πεπεισμενος παση προαιρεσει ζων νοων  
 φρονων ερρωμενην εχων την διανοιαν και επ ακριβειας πολλης φερων τον λογισμον  
 μου και επι γης βαδιζων και επ αγορας προϊων οπερ το εσχατον [θε]ληματιον επαγο-  
 ρευσαμην

τη των Αιγυπτιων φωνη Ελληνικοις δε και ρημασιν επεταξα γραφηναι \*καταλειθω\* δ ως

Line 4. διαθηκημιαν : W. gives διαθηκημιαν, as in l. 39; but the lacuna is not nearly large enough for four letters, and it therefore seems probable that the word was misspelt or abbreviated in some way, unless we can suppose that there was a substantive διαθηκημία, in which case we could read εσχατης διαθηκημιας.

Line 5. εχουσαν : the final ν is hardly formed at all.

Line 7 νομιμου παραγραφης : i.e. anything which could give

legal ground for exception or protest; thus we have the phrase παραγραφή δόλου, meaning an exception or demurrer on the ground of fraud.

Line 13. καταλειθω δ ως : the reading is tolerably clear, though the λ might be a τ, and the first ω is partly obliterated; but it is obviously corrupt. It may perhaps stand for κατ αληθειαν δ ως. There is a mark in the original which may be intended to be a sign of elision after the δ.



- 15 υπο των καλως και ευσεβως κειμενων νομων διηγορευμενα ειη τουνων εμε ζην και υγιαίνειν  
και παντων των εμων μετριων απολανειν επαν δε οπερ απευχομαι ανθρωπινον τι  
παθω και τον βιον τουτον καταλυσω βουλομαι και κελευω μετα την εμην αποκοιμησιν  
σε τον προμνημονευθεντα ✥ Βικτορα τον ευλαβεστατον πρεσβυτερον και μαθητην μου  
υπεισῑναι εις την καταλειφθησομενην ῡπ εμου παντοian μετριαν ῡποστασιν και κληρονομειν  
20 με κινητην τε και ακινητον και αυτοκινητον εν παντι ειδει και γινει και ποιότητι και ποσοτητι  
εν τε χρυσω και αργυρω και εσθησεσι και χαλκωμασι και ἱματίοις και γραμματείοις και  
οικοπεδοις  
και ψιλοις τοποῖς και αυλαις και πασιν απαξαπλως απο τιμιῷ ειδους εως ελαχιστου και  
πλεθρῷ γης  
και ασσαριου ενος και οβολου και του τυχοντος οστρακινῷ και ξυλινῷ και λιθινῷ σκευους  
προς την  
αυτην καταλειφθησομενην ῡπ εμου παντοian μετριακην υπαρξιν καν απο κληρονομιας  
των αποικομεων μου καν απο ἰδίων μῶ και ἰδρωτων και απο αγορασιας και χαρίσματος  
25 και ετεραςδηποτουν επινοιας εγγραφως η αγραφως. ου μην δε αλλα και το ῡπ εμε αγιον τοπιον  
του αγιου αθλοφορου μαρτυρος αββα Φοιβαμμωνος του διακειμενου κατα του προρηθεντος  
θειου ορους Μεμνονιων ωσαντως την αδιαλειπτον δεσποτεian παρεθεμην σοι μετα της αυτου  
σεπτης υλης απο ευτελους ειδους εως πολυτελους και ανθρακεως εφω σε τον προμνημονεύ-  
θεντ[α]  
✥ Βικτορα τον θεοφιλεστατον πρεσβυτερον και μοναζοντα τον εμον μαθητην μετα την εμην  
απο  
30 κοιμησιν ευθυ και παραχρημα ῡπεισῑναι εις την ῡπ εμου καταλειφθησομενην μετριακην  
ῡπαρξιν επικρατειν και κυριευειν και δεσποζειν παντων των καταλειφθησομενων ῡπ εμου  
παντοιων πραγματων απο μικρου ειδους εως ελαχιστου και πλεθρου γης και ασσαριῷ ενος  
και οβολῷ  
και του τυχοντος οστρακινῷ και ξυλινῷ και λιθινου σκευους ετι μην και του ευαγους  
ευκτηριῷ  
μετα και της αυτῷ σεπτης υλης απο ευτελους ειδους εως πολυτελους καθα και ο προλαβων  
35 εσαφηνισε \*νοεπος\* κτασθαι διοικειν οικονομειν φιλοκαλειν οικειν οικοδομειν νεμεσθαι  
εκμισθουν πωλειν παραχωρειν αντικαλλατ̄̄ειν δωρεισθαι χαρισασθαι αποχαρισασθαι και  
παντα  
περι αυτων πραττειν κυριως και ανεπικωλυτως και εξ αυτων εξωδιαζειν εις την διοικησιν του  
ειρημενῷ ευαγους τοπου και χορηγειαν των υπερερχομενων πενητων δια το ουτω μοι δεδοχθαι  
και ευδοκηκεναι και εληλυθεναι ευχαριστων εις την παρουσαν πληρεστατην διαθηκημαιαν  
40 ασφαλειαν μηδενοσ ουν των εκ του γενους μῶ αγχιστενοντων η αλλου τινος εκ προσωπῷ  
μῶ ου κατα

Line 15. επαν . . . απευχομαι: W. εαν . . . ανευχομαι, but the readings are clear.

Line 17. ✥: W. has omitted the cross, which precedes the name Victor both here and in l. 29.

Line 22. του: W. has accidentally omitted this word.

Line 23. μετριακην: not μετριαν, as W.; cf. l. 30.

Line 25. ετεραςδηποτουν: formed like οἰοσδηποτε and similar combinations, but it is a matter of indifference whether they are written as two words or one. ετερας is here incorrectly used in the sense of "any other." το αγιον τοπιον: i.e. the monastery

of Phœbammon.

Line 28. ειδους: om. W. εφω: apparently a variant for εφήμι, in the sense of "permit" or "enjoin." Cf. ll. 51, 60.

Line 35. νοεπος: the letters seem perfectly distinct, though there may be some question about the ε, but the word is manifestly corrupt, and it is not clear what it can stand for. W. reads νομος; these cannot be the actual letters in the original, and the reference appears to be rather to the preceding formula in ll. 21, 22, and 28, than to any law. The ν may perhaps belong to the preceding word.



- πατερα ου κατα μητερα ουκ αδελφων ουκ αδελφιδων ου συγγενων ουκ ανεψιων ουκ αλλου  
οιδηποτε  
ανθρωπωνδ προσωπο μη δυνομενων πωποτε καιρω η χρονω επελευσασθαι σοι η τοις σοις  
κληρονομοις  
η διαδοχοις η διακατοχοις η αλλω τινι σοι διαφεροντι μηδε εγκαλειν η εγκαλεσειν εν  
δικαστηριω  
η εκτος δικαστηριδ η εν επιχωριω η υπεροριω νομω μικρω η μεγαλω μηδε επι φιλων  
μεμψασθαι  
45 μηδε προσελουσιν κατα σου η των μετα σε ποιησασθαι δηποτε αρχοντι η δικαστη μηδε  
δια εκβοησεως  
εν αγιωτατη εκκλησια η εν πραιτωριοις η τροπω τινι χρησασθαι μηδε αιτησαι θειον και  
πραγματικον  
τυπον προς τηνδε την διαθηκην η μερος αυτης το συνολον μηδε μην παραβηναι αυτην  
κατα το παντελες δια το επι πασιν δεδοκται και συντηρηκεν τω εμω αγαθω σκοπω και  
λαβειν  
και διδομαι υπερ εμο ειπερ ευρεθειν εχων η χρεωστων η χρεωστουμενων μοι και την πασαν  
50 λημψαποδοσιν υπερ εμο ποιησασθαι ει δε τις πειρωμενος πωποτε καιρω εναντιωθηναι  
ταυτης της απεριγραπτδ διαθηκης εφω αυτον τον τοιοιτο τι διαπραττομενον πωποτε καιρω  
πρωτοτυπως ενοχον εσεσθαι τω θειω και φρικτοδεστερω ορκω και τω της επιορκειας  
επηρητημενω  
κινδυνω τε και εγκληματι και υποκεισθαι τη ορισμενη επιτιμια κατα των παραβαινειν  
τολμωντων  
θειους και βασιλικους ορκους και επιγινωσκειν λογω προστιμου και παραβασεως χρυσου  
ογκιας  
55 εξ γι/ χρ γο 5 εργω δυναμει απαιτουμενας εκ της του επιφυομενοδ και εναγοντος  
υποστασεως ειθ  
ουτως επαναγκες εμμεναι πασι τοις εγ' γεγραμμενοις ταυτη τη ατρωτω διαθηκη βουλομαι και  
κελευω μετα την εμην εξοδον του βιοδ την περιστολην του εμου σωματος και τας αγιας μοδ  
προσφορας  
και αγαπας και τας του θανατοδ επισημους ημερας εκτελεσθηναι προνοια σου κατα τον  
επιχωριον  
νομον και κατα την εμην οψιν και υπολημψιν προσομολογω δε ως ει εμφανειη ετερος  
χαρτης προ

Line 42. *δυνομενων* is a form found elsewhere in the papyrus.

Line 47. *τυπον* : in its late sense of "decree" or "edict." *πραγματικδς τυπος* means a decree granted by the Government, and more particularly by a sovereign; cf. Ducange.

Line 48. *δια το . . . δεδοκται* : a mixture of the constructions *δια το . . . δεδοχθαι* and *οτι . . . δεδοκται*. *συντηρηκεν* : an irregularly formed perfect from *συναρίσκω*.

Line 50. *λημψαποδοσιν* : apparently a compound word for "receipts and payments."

Line 51. *απεριγραπτου* : *περιγράφω* is used in late Greek in the sense of the Latin *circumscribere*; so the meaning here is apparently "authoritative"; Goodwin, "unexceptionable." *εφω* : W. here divides this into two words *εφ ω*, for no apparent reason, a verb being obviously required by the sense.

Line 55. *γι/ χρ γο 5* : the usual repetition in figures of the numbers already recited at length; = *γίνονται χρυσού ογκία εξ εναγοντος* : W. *επαγοντος*, but the letter is clearly a ν. The sense is that the penalty is to be exacted from the ensuing crops of the offender.

Line 56. *ατρωτω* : "invulnerable" (Goodwin).

Line 57. *τας αγιας* : at first *των αγιων* (the scribe being misled by the preceding genitive), but corrected. W. wrongly takes the genitives as the later writing. *προσφορας* : not *προσφορίας*, as W.; the blot preceding and adjoining the α is due to the ink having run in a crack of the papyrus.

Line 59. *οψιν* : in the sense of "dignity" or "position." *ως ει εμφανειη* : W. *ωσει εμφανει η*, but with what sense?

- 60 γενεστερος η μεταγενεστερος εναντιωθηναι ταυτης της διαθηκης εφω τον αυτον χαρτην εωλον  
ειναι και ανίσχυρον απανταχου προτεινομενον ταυτης δε της διαθηκης εχουσης το εκ των  
νομων  
κυρος προ[s] δε συστασιν και ασφαλειαν παντων των παρ εμο̃ διομολογηθεντων επω-  
μοσαμην  
προς της αγιας και ομοουσιῷ τριαδος και του περιβεβλημενῷ μοι σχηματος εν μηδενι  
παραβηναι  
μηδε παρασαλευσαι συμπαντα τα προγεγραμμενα αλλ' ασφαλεντα ειναι και αρραγη επι το  
διηνεκες δια της
- 65 παρουσης διαθηκης ης δολος φθονος πονηρος απειτω απεστω ηντινα πεποιημαι σοι εις  
ασφαλειαν κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν απανταχου προφερομενην και αναγωνσκομενην επι  
πασης  
αρχης και εξουσιας και δυναμεως εννομων ισχυρας εφ ὑπογραφης του ὑπερ εμου ὑπογρα-  
φοντος και των  
εξης μαρτυρουντων αξιοπιστων μαρτυρων κατ επιτροπην εμην και αξιωσιν και επερωτη-  
θεις εις  
απαντα ερμηνευθεντα μοι δια της Αιγυπτιακης διαλαλειας παρα του εξης συμβολαιογραφο̃  
αρεσθεντα
- 70 μοι καθως τω εμω στοματι αφηγησασθαι ταυθ' ουτως καλως εχειν δωσειν ποιειν φυλαττειν  
στεργειν εμμενειν  
ωμολογησα και απελυσα Ϡ δηλονοτι επειδη εδηλωσα οτι χρυσιον και αργυρον εν ορκῳ  
κατα της  
των Χρειστιανων πιστεως ουδε χρυσιον ουδε αργυρον ουκ εχω ουδε ουκ εκτησα αφ ου  
εγεναμην  
ουκ εχω ουδε εσωθεν ουδε εξωθεν εως ενος τριμησιῷ και επι τουτω ωμολογησα Ϡ ουδε ουκ  
ειασα  
εν καιρω της τελευτης μῷ καν εκτησα εδωκα αυτα εις λογον των πενητων πλην ως ειρηται  
75 χρυσιον ουδε αργυρον ουκ εχω και απολογον εχω δουναι τῷ δεσποτῇ Θεῷ περι τουτου Ϡ
- ✠ Αβραάμιος ελεει ἢ επισκοπος και αναχωρητης του θειου ορῶς Μεμνιονιων υιος του της  
μακαριας μνημνης Σαβινου εκ μητρος Ρεβεκκας ο προγεγραμμενος εθεμην το π[αρον]  
διαθηκημιαιον γραμμα εφ οis πασι περιεχει κεφαλαιοis τε και ομολογημασι συν  
θειῳ ορκῳ και το προκειμενῳ προστιμῳ και στοιχει μοι παντα τα εγγεγραμμεν[α]
- 80 ως προκειται και απελυσα Ϡ Ἰωσηφ Ἰωαννου ελαχι πρεσβυτερ αγιας εκκλησιας Ερμων<sup>9</sup>  
κελευσθεισης μοι εγραψα υπερ αυτου γραμματα μη επισταμενου Ϡ Διοσκορος Ἰακωβῷ  
αρχιεπ<sup>9</sup>

Line 60. εωλον: "null and void," lit. "stale."

Line 65. απειτω απεστω: W. takes the second form as correct-  
ing the first; απειτω may also be a variant for απιτω.

Line 71. εν ορκῳ: W. prints as one word, ενορκῳ; but it is  
not clear what the sense would be.

Line 76. Here begin the subscriptions, that of Abraham him-  
self being written by the priest Joseph, as stated in l. 81, the  
bishop himself not understanding Greek, and therefore not being  
able to write it. The others are autograph, that of Dioscoros  
being in a large uncial hand.

Line 80. ελαχι: i.e. ελάχιστος.

Line 81. αρχιεπ<sup>9</sup>: not αρχιεπ, as read by W. and in the  
Palaeographical Society's publication (Series i., pl. 107). The  
word is αρχιπρεσβύτερος, an office referred to often in the early  
Church. At first there was only one in each diocese, and he  
took rank after the bishop, and acted as his vicegerent. Sub-  
sequently, in the West at least, archpresbyters were often  
appointed to subdivisions of a diocese, and in this capacity they  
are found, contrary to what the name would naturally imply,  
subordinated to the archdeacon.

- αγιας εκκλησιας Ερμων<sup>8</sup> μαρτυρω τη παρουση διαθηκη ακουσας παρα του οσιωτατου  
 απα Αβρααμιου επισκ/ Ερμων<sup>8</sup> του και ταυτην θεμενου ✠ Φλ Παντωνυμος Απαδιου  
 μαρτυρω  
 τη παρουση διαθηκη παρα του θεμεγου ✠ Φλ Αβρααμ Θεοδωσιου πολιτευομενος Ερμωνθεως  
 85 μαρτω τη πρασει αιτηθεις παρα του θεμενου ✠ Παυλος Αβρααμιου ελαχι διακ/ μαρτυρω  
 [τ]η παρουση διαθηκη ακουσας παρα του θεμενου ρ ✠ Φλ Θεοοφιλος συν θω εκδικος  
 Ερμων<sup>9</sup>  
 μαρτυρω τη διαθηκη αιτηθεις παρα του θεμενου ρ ρ ρ ρ

✠ δι εμου Περτρ[ου] . . . . . εγενετο ✠

Line 83. ταυτην : W. misprints ταυτη. Απαδιου : or απα Διου, as W.

Line 84. διαθηκη : the first five letters have been written over an erasure, and it is quite possible, as W. suggests, that πρασει had been written first, as in l. 85. παρα του θεμενου : αιτηθεις or ακουσας has been omitted.

Line 85. πρασει : a slip, owing to the forms of attestation being

the same in all cases.

Line 86. εκδικος : in late Greek = a public advocate.

Line 87. αιτηθεις : the τ is written like a χ.

Line 88. Περτρ[ου] : not περτου, as W. reads. W. further fills the lacuna with συμβωλ; but though συμβολαιογραφου is probably the word, the abbreviation given by W. is not enough to fill the lacuna, and the letter above the line does not appear to be a λ.

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\* Not in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (7th ed.).

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$\text{f}$  = 3 obols, 142-151 *passim*, 170-191 *passim*

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# (δ.) ABBREVIATIONS.

(The most obvious abbreviations, consisting only of the omission of a few letters at the end of a word, such as occur constantly in pp. 170-191, 217-221, are omitted.)

$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta^{\circ}$  =  $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\acute{\alpha}$ , 105;  $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\theta^{\circ}$  = *id.*, 118

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## 7. INDEX OF MAGICAL WORDS.

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## 8. INDEX OF WORDS.

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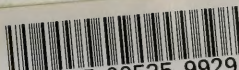




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